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17 NOVEMBER 1986

# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

U.S., JAPANESE, OTHER PLANS FOR 'PACIFIC COMMUNITY' CRITIQUED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 13-16

[Article by Vladimir Tikhomirov: "Pacific Cooperation"]

[Text]

The situation in the Asian Pacific region is complex. The beginning of the 1980s was marked by a considerable rise in the attention the US, Japan and Australia paid to it with an eye to establishing a broad regional system of relations along new lines there.

By now the composition of the future regional association has become more or less clear. Its sponsors' plans call for it to include the US, Japan, the ASEAN countries, Australia, New Zealand, Oceania, Canada and South Korea. The participation of Taiwan remains an open question. Certain steps have been taken to bring the positions of the developed and developing countries of the region closer together and stimulate the interest in setting up a new regional structure among the developing states. Its aim is declared to be economic and cultural cooperation.

The creation of a Pacific structure is also the prime objective of the Economic Council for the Pacific Area, a consultative body representing the financial, industrial and trade quarters of the states in the region, which was organised in 1967 and now brings together more than 400 big corporations. Plans for training technical specialists from the developing countries at four centres with the help of instructors from Japan, the US, Australia and New Zealand have begun to be implemented.

Why has interest in Pacific cooperation risen so?

First and foremost, the Asian Pacific region is a zone of immense resources and raw materials, a major market, an important strategic communications area and a region in which monopolies' economic interests are growing. The territories of the countries washed by the Pacific Ocean comprise 52 per cent of the world's land mass. According to some predictions, by the year 2000 over half of our planet's population will live in these countries.

In 1980 the Pacific Region accounted for more than 48 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product of the non-socialist countries, over 56 per cent of the coal produced in the capitalist world, 35.8 per cent of the iron ore, 50.2 per cent of the copper, 54.3 per cent of the lead, 70 per cent of the tin and a considerable quantity of other minerals, including petroleum. In 1982 the countries in this region had 36.5 per cent of world exports and 36.7 per cent of world imports.

All of these figures testify to the great potential of the countries of the region and to the growth of the role they play in world politics.

#### **US OBJECTIVES**

Until quite recently Washington took a rather reserved attitude towards idea of setting up a Pacific structure, mainly pursuing a wait-and-see policy, while Tokyo and Canberra actively promoted it. Later it was the White House that began demonstrating considerably increased interest and vigorous activity in this respect.

It should be pointed out that neither the US nor Japan are willing to spend considerable amounts on the creation of a new model of cooperation, as they are not sure that this would yield them large profits, and each of them would like to place the burden of the costs on the other.

Nevertheless, under the cover of talk about forming an "open" Pacific structure for the co-operation, the process of creating the community is under way, although not without delays and vacillations.

US interests are based on both economic and military-political considerations. Washington is expanding its economic ties with the countries of the region and sharply intensifying its business activities there. US trade with the countries of the Pacific amounted to \$137 billion in 1983, thus exceeding US trade with the West European

countries by \$30 billion. Direct US investment increased five-fold between 1967 and 1980. US interest in importing unrefined minerals from the Pacific region is great and appears to be on the rise. For example, in 1982 and 1983 the United States got over 50 per cent of all the tin it imported and 11 per cent of the tantalum from Malaysia, a considerable amount of tin, tantalum and niobium from Thailand, 15 per cent of the chrome and 8 per cent of the nickel it imported from the Philippines, 8 per cent of its oil imports from Indonesia, and 9 per cent of its tungsten imports from South Korea.

Although officially the spokesmen of the US administration emphasise only the economic and cultural nature of the future Pacific structure, their military and political goals can be easily discerned behind this verbiage. Washington is striving to consolidate the countries of the region and intensify their "common" economic, cultural and primarily political features for a long period, and to contribute, on that basis and behind that screen, to the determination of the contours of a new strategic alliance spearheaded against world socialism and national liberation movements.

It is evident that the ruling quarters in the US are intent on implementing their schemes for achieving military superiority in that area of the world but are moving gradually, camouflaging their real intentions and trying, first, to form a closed regional economic alliance.

Discernible in Washington's policies is the desire to isolate the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as much as possible from the objective growth of regional cooperation, and to prevent the USSR from establishing broader equitable and mutually beneficial ties, including economic, with the developing countries of the region, primarily with the members of ASEAN.

At the same time, Washington has nothing against China's participation in the new Pacific structure. It is hoping to keep Peking at a distance from the USSR and the socialist community, to thwart normalisation of Sino-Soviet relations and, simultaneously, to erode the social-economic structure of Chinese society.

In emphasising the special role the ASEAN countries will play in the future community moreover, in giving them the central role, as it were, that of pattern or an example that should be followed in setting up the Pacific community, the ruling circles in the US are seeking to camouflage their own imperialist designs in Southeast Asia, comfort the public there, strengthen their economic and political stand, oust their competitors and hamper the normalisation of relations between the ASEAN countries and Indochina.

## TOKYO'S INTENTIONS

Unlike the United States, the Japanese government today, as officials point out, is trying to create a Pacific structure of cooperation primarily along economic lines. Moreover, it is ready to admit more countries to the community than Washington. However, the Japanese government, too, is actually excluding the Soviet Union from any Pacific association. It is trying to do this as quietly as possible while forming the new association, during which process the member countries would find themselves involved in it on an anti-communist basis. The Japanese government's true aims consist in bolstering its own positions and bringing Japan's economic potential in line with the political rôle it plays in the world, making as much use as possible of regional tendencies towards cooperation.

As far as China is concerned, Tokyo aspires to make it part of the structure under formation and create the prerequisites for the establishment of a Sino-Japanese "axis" of cooperation and strategic partnership to go alongside the Japanese-US alliance. In its opinion, this might allow Tokyo to pursue a more independent and flexible line in its relations with the US and the PRC.

Tokyo also assigns an increasingly important role in the creation of an Asian-Pacific community to the ASEAN states. It is precisely in this area that the interests of Japanese monopolies are concentrated. Indeed, Japan accounts for more than one-third of the ASEAN countries' exports and about one-fourth of their imports. Important Japanese trade and strategic lines of communications pass through the territories of those countries. Like the US administration, the Japanese government is working to strengthen its positions in Southeast Asia, by acting to keep the region's states within the capitalist orbit and blocking the development of national liberation trends there.

In recent years Japan has been increasingly drawn into the implementation of Washington's military-strategic schemes. It is not only building up its military capabilities, but also providing state-of-the-art technology to the US for its Star Wars project. At the same time, Japan is expanding its military cooperation with the countries of the Pacific, in part by giving them "strategic aid". This is particularly evident with regard to its relations with South Korea in the context of USA-Japan-South Korea association that is being formed.

The Japanese ruling quarters' growing participation in the military-strategic preparations and plans of US imperialism causes rather serious doubts as regards Tokyo's supposedly "purely economic interests" in the new Pacific association.

#### OTHER CLAIMANTS

The powers that be in Australia and New Zealand are still greatly interested in the formation of a "new order" in the Pacific. With each year that passes, the economic ties of these states within the region grow, at the expense, in part, of a relative reduction in their trade with such traditional partners as Great Britain. Australia is a major supplier of minerals, energy and agricultural raw materials to the US and Japan, and its trade with the ASEAN countries is on the rise. However, conflicts in Australia's and New Zealand's trade relations with their regional partners are growing in number. In actively seeking a new Pacific structure of cooperation, the ruling circles of the two countries hope to reduce these conflicts or eliminate them altogether, implement a restructuring of their economies, expand export opportunities and ensure the marketability of ready-made goods. Of no less importance to them is the enhancement of the political role their respective countries play within the Asian Pacific region, particularly vis-à-vis the ASEAN states and those situated in the southern part of the Pacific. The establishment of a "new order", in the opinion of those quarters, would help them implement their foreign policies.

Thus, the imperialist powers have quite definite plans for the new Asia-Pacific association. In April this year Soviet government came out with a statement on situation in Asia and the Pacific. This document says that judging by all evidence some political quarters in the US and Japan cannot visualise the future of the Asian Pacific region without confrontation between various countries in that part of the world. In practice they are seeking to create a structure and machinery of the so-called "Pacific Community" which can eventually be transformed into a closed regional grouping, yet another militarist bloc. A system of relations between the developed capitalist and developing countries in the Asian Pacific region is to be set up, which will make it possible to ensure on the basis of the so-called "principles of mutual dependence and mutual supplementation", as they are interpreted by Western

ideologists, that the economic, political, and later on increasingly military aims of imperialist strategy will be achieved. For all their diversity, these plans have one common feature. They run counter to the interests of the peoples inhabiting this region.

#### PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTS

The high degree of heterogeneity that characterises the countries of the Asian Pacific region (the big gap between the level of economic development achieved by the US and Japan, as well by the "new industrial countries" like South Korea and Singapore, on the one hand, and the developing states of ASEAN and particularly the island states in the southern Pacific, on the other), the centrifugal and centripetal trends in their development, and ever more evident claims imperialism is making on the Pacific's economic and political potential engender grave conflicts between the would-be participants in the regional association.

First and foremost, the developing countries are in no way disposed to find themselves even more dependent on the developed capitalist countries as a result of the emergence of a new structure of cooperation. Moreover, they have not forgotten the Japanese expansionist ideas for the creation of a "co-prosperity sphere of Asian nations". Moreover, the ASEAN states fear that a global-regional association involving such giants as the US and Japan would undermine their sovereignty and the relative independence ASEAN has achieved by such immense effort.

Other sharp conflicts between the US and Japan, Japan and Australia, Japan and South Korea, etc., are mounting. The European Economic Community countries are voicing increasing alarm over the possibility that they may become the periphery of the capitalist world as a result of the reorientation of the US towards the Pacific. At the same time they do not want to miss the boat in that region and are trying to find opportunities for investments, obtain new markets and raw-material sources. These efforts aggravate the inter-imperialist conflicts between the West European countries, the US and Japan.

When evaluating on the whole the attitudes the countries of the region take towards the plans to form a Pacific community, one must bear in mind that they vary widely, even within the ruling quarters of those states, and that there exist different points of view concerning the character and composition of the future association. Clashes between those with conflicting opinions also occur.

For these reasons, the concept of a Pacific association is developing at a comparatively slow pace. One can hardly suppose that at the present stage the imperialist quarters would succeed in accelerating it considerably either. It is no accident that statements are made in Washington and Tokyo that a Pacific structure of cooperation will only take shape in the 21st century, and that it is precisely at that time that the so-called "Pacific era" will fully blossom.

Seemingly, however, the main factor impeding the creation of a Pacific community is the growing awareness the peoples of the region have of the threat of being drawn into a military-political association. Apprehensions are voiced in Japan, South Korea, the ASEAN countries and states in the South Pacific concerning the military preparations which have intensified of late, stimulated militaristic processes, and the expanding US military presence in the region. It should be said, these apprehensions are well-grounded.

In this regard it is appropriate to recall the increasingly close coordination of the military activities of the US, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand, as well as the scale of the modernisation the US system of bases in that area, which includes over 300 installations, went through. The commitments Tokyo made concerning the division of responsibility for "security" in the region, and joint patrols by Japanese and US warships 1,000 miles off the shores of Japan, together with the agreement between Washington, Tokyo and Seoul on measures to blockade the Soviet Navy in its internal seas in an emergency testify to imperialism's mounting military preparedness. In 1985 alone the Japanese government spent over \$13 billion for military purposes. In the 1980s the US gave South Korea over \$1 billion worth of credits to purchase armaments. The actions Washington has taken to increase its own nuclear potential in the Asian Pacific region and the assistance it had given a number of countries in developing their nuclear potential has caused particular anxiety. The public in countries of the region is giving increasingly serious thought to what they can obtain from participation in the association in accordance with the American scenario.

### THE USSR's STAND

Unlike the imperialist quarters, above all the US and Japan, with their expansionist ambitions, the Soviet Union pursues a policy with regard to the Asian Pacific region that is different in nature. The USSR has always expressed and continues to express its readiness for open and honest cooperation with all countries, irrespective of socio-political system, if that cooperation is based on the principles of reciprocity and equality and is aimed at consolidating peace and security. This is the course Soviet foreign policy unswervingly follows. The USSR's peaceable, dynamic and constructive course was convincingly laid forth in the Political Report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 27th CPSU Congress. It describes Soviet foreign policy as an "alloy of the philosophy of shaping a safe world in the nuclear-space age with a platform of concrete actions". This policy, whose aim is to create a general system of international security and stimulate international cooperation is of tremendous importance to the Asian Pacific region, because it creates favourable conditions for a positive approach to many intricate international issues there.

The whole world is aware of the Soviet proposals on consolidating Asian security through the joint efforts of countries concerned. They have been further developed in the set of proposals on confidence-building measures, in the Soviet peace plan for the Persian Gulf, in the clear-cut Soviet proposals for settling the mid-East crisis and the complicated situation on Cyprus, in the appeal to all states whose ships ply the waters of the Indian Ocean to refrain, without waiting for the convocation of an international conference on establishing a zone of peace there, from taking any steps which could complicate the situation in that ocean still further, in its commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, in its preparedness to undertake pledges, together with all the permanent members of the UN Security Council, never to interfere in the internal affairs of the other countries on their respective continents, never to use force or the threat of it against them never to draw them into military blocs, and so on.

The Soviet Union supports the proposal the Mongolian People's Republic has made that a

pact on non-aggression and mutual non-use of force be concluded by the countries of Asia and the Pacific, the initiative of the Indochinese countries towards normalising the situation in Southeast Asia, the DPRK's proposals concerning making the Korean Peninsula a nuclear-free zone and finding a peaceful solution to the Korean issue, and the initiative by the nine countries of the South Pacific on proclaiming it a nuclear-free zone. The Soviet Union's peaceable policies were also reflected in its appeal to prepare to spread the positive experience of Helsinki and of the European security system to Asia by organising bilateral and multilateral consultations including an Asian forum in future. In this way the Soviet Union confirms the principles of the comprehensive approach to Asian security problems. Its essence consists in joining the efforts of all Asian states, regardless of their social systems, in the name of ensuring peace, stability, and comprehensive cooperation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

NONALIGNED MOVEMENT PRAISED, URGED TO SUPPORT PEACE, DETENTE

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 8-12

[Article by Semyon Alexandrov: "The Nonaligned Movement and the Struggle for Peace and Security"]

[Text]

The concept of nonalignment appeared in Asia soon after a number of big Asian states declared their political independence. Jawaharlal Nehru, a great son of the Indian people, was one of its authors. The concept met with an enthusiastic response among many prominent civic and political leaders in the newly-free countries. However, it took many years of struggle before it achieved its organisational realisation in the form of the first conference of the heads of state or government of nonaligned countries, held in Belgrade in 1961.

It should be noted that the very emergence of this movement became possible only in specific historical conditions; namely, when socialism became a world system and a major change occurred in the alignment of forces between reaction and progress. There is an objective relationship between the fundamental interests of the developing countries and the socialist states, rooted in the existence of a common principal enemy, i.e., imperialism,

which seeks to hamper their successful development. It is this objective relationship that has paved the way for the tangible achievements marking the struggle waged by the nonaligned countries during the past quarter-century. Today there is no denying the fact that the nonaligned movement has become an influential factor in international relations. The member countries of the movement now comprise almost two-thirds of the UN's membership, and no important decision can be adopted by the UN General Assembly without their support.

What underlies the achievements of the movement?

First, it should be emphasised that, since its inception, the nonaligned movement has fought war, opposed the "position-of-strength" policy pursued by the imperialist powers, and worked to achieve a lasting peace. Moreover, the movement has always been directed towards the implementation of the constructive principles of peaceful coexistence, rather than amorphous pacifism. Back

at the Second Conference of the Nonaligned Countries in Cairo, the heads of state and government solemnly declared the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence based on the principles proclaimed at Bandung in 1955, as well as on those contained in a number of other important international documents. In conformity with the Cairo principles of coexistence, all the conferences of the nonaligned countries have come up with specific constructive proposals aimed at bolstering moves towards detente and eliminating the threat of war once and for all. This is undoubtedly in keeping with the aspirations of people throughout the world.

Second, the close connection between the nonaligned movement and the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America must be noted. One of the basic principles of the nonaligned movement, written into the Declaration on the National Liberation Struggle approved by the 4th Conference of the Nonaligned Countries in Algeria (1973) is: "The policy of non-alignment, a major aim of which is the struggle for independence and the preservation of national sovereignty, is fully identified with the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples against all forms of oppression and exploitation".

Third, the activities and struggle of the nonaligned countries have invariably been characterised by a clear understanding of the fact that imperialism is the principal enemy of the newly-free peoples. The first section of the Economic Declaration adopted by the 4th Conference of the Nonaligned Countries is entitled, "The Struggle Against Imperialism. It begins as follows: ... "The

heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries pointed out that imperialism continues to be the most formidable obstacle on the road to the liberation and progress of the developing countries which have been fighting to achieve a standard of living corresponding to most elementary norms of well-being and human dignity. Imperialism not only opposes the economic and social progress of the developing countries, but also takes an aggressive stand towards those who oppose its designs. In addition it seeks to impose on them political, social and economic structures which are conducive to foreign domination, dependence or neocolonialism".

Fourth, the nonaligned movement is democratic by nature and therefore regards alliance with the community of socialist countries as a pledge of its future achievements. Moreover, a number of socialist countries (Vietnam, Laos, the DPRK, Yugoslavia and Cuba) take an active part in the nonaligned movement, as do all the countries of socialist orientation. This promotes the consolidation of the movement along progressive lines.

Fifth, the nonaligned movement has joined forces with such authoritative international organisations as the UN, the Organisation of African Unity, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, the Arab League which, as observers, participate in nonaligned conferences, in which the nonaligned states themselves play a sizeable role.

The emergence of the nonaligned movement was graphic evidence of the fact that the developing countries saw themselves as subjects of international relations. Of course, the extent of the understanding of

that process and the ensuing political activities differed in various periods of postwar history and in various countries during the same period. Therefore, at each point in history, the nonaligned movement was the resultant force as it were of the entire sum of its participants' basic aspirations. This force, however, was not unchanging: a certain shift in emphasis took place in terms of the very understanding of the essence and goals of the nonaligned movement from its inception and to the present day. Here it is possible to discern a number of stages in the evolution of the movement's approach to the problem of the struggle for peace and security.

In the 1960s it was the national aspects that dominated in the nonaligned movement's assessment of what had to be done to bring about peace. This was only natural as it was the period of the collapse of colonialism and the emergence of the young nation states during the cold war. The Lusaka Declaration, which came out of the 3rd Conference of the Nonaligned Countries (1970) stressed that the "policy of nonalignment was the result of the independent countries' resolve to defend their national independence and the legitimate rights of their peoples". The member countries regarded the upholding of the principles of peace by the movement as the main guarantee of their survival, national rebirth and free development.

In the 1970s the emphasis in the liberation struggle shifted to the achievement of economic independence, collective forms of struggle and the development of a programme of action aimed at establishing a "new international economic order". As for the struggle for peace, stress was mainly placed

on some peculiarity of the international interests of that group of countries, and the possible role nonalignment might play in achieving peace on earth was somewhat overestimated. The above-mentioned Lusaka Declaration contraposed, to a certain degree, the interests of "ensuring the security of small, medium-sized and developing countries" with a "tendency towards negotiations" between "the superpowers". It was claimed that "parity between the superpowers, achieved through mutual intimidation, has failed to bring peace and security to the rest of the world". Some nonaligned countries were even of the opinion that detente was achieved at the expense of the developing countries.

At the same time, the Soviet Union has never linked detente with the preservation of the status quo in the countries which are fighting for their national liberation and rebirth, and this has been clearly demonstrated by its relations with those countries over many decades. The USSR has always regarded the legitimate and just struggle for national liberation and social progress as an important factor that bolsters detente and ensures peaceful coexistence.

The shift in emphasis in the liberation struggle to the achievement of economic independence and a new international economic order was marked in those years by a number of important victories for the developing countries, among which the "revolution in oil prices" had a prominent place. Against this background, the nonaligned countries' demands for an end to the arms race and the redistribution of resources which would be released as a result of disarmament and channelled into the economic

development of Asian, African and Latin American countries were intensified and made more concrete. At the same time, certain additional negative effects of the approach, which some developing countries took to the struggle for peace, made themselves felt.

For example, the attempts some nonaligned countries make to ignore such global problems of our day and age as the struggle to end the arms race, and bring about disarmament and detente, arguing that "development must come first, and then disarmament", that "the developing countries stand to gain little from disarmament", that disarmament is "the great powers' problem", and so on—all reflected the "equidistance" concept. However, the relationship between development and disarmament today is such that the former is rendered historically meaningless without the latter. There is no point to development without the discontinuation of the arms race and without disarmament, because in the event of a global thermonuclear war there will be nobody to reap the benefits of development. For this reason disarmament is mankind's cause, and no people has the right to exempt itself from the search to find a solution to that problem.

Beginning in the early 1980s, the nonaligned movement became increasingly aware of the close relationship between efforts towards national rebirth and the struggle for peace on a global scale. It also gained a complete awareness of the urgency of accomplishing the worldwide task of preventing a nuclear war. At present, when the possibility that local conflicts may increasingly become global and when such conflicts may easily trigger a world thermonuclear war, an ever greater

number of developing countries feel a growing sense of responsibility for the destiny of mankind. This responsibility, among other things, shows a further intensification of the process whereby the nonaligned countries are made subjects of world history.

In this connection I would like to remind readers of an important pronouncement made by the former Prime Minister of India, a major Asian country that plays an active role in the nonaligned movement. In an interview given to Soviet journalists on the eve of her visit to the Soviet Union in September 1982, Indira Gandhi stated: "I think everyone agrees that peace is essential for this planet, not only as a lofty idea but also for practical reasons: we are engaged in peaceful development, and this applies to a greater degree to us, the developing countries, although it is of no less significance to the industrialised countries as well. War is always a terrible thing. But today, with the existence of nuclear and other recently invented weapons of mass destruction, war can result in the extermination of mankind. That is why we urgently need peace and detente, which helps preserve it."

The decisions of the 7th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries, held in New Delhi in March 1983, played a tremendous role in further invigorating the peaceable efforts of the nonaligned countries. This representative forum (it was attended by more than a hundred countries) identified the problem of defending peace and limiting the arms race as the key objective of the foreign policies pursued by the developing countries. A separate heading, "Disarmament, Survival and Coexistence in the Era of

"Nuclear Weapons", was found for the first time in the conference's Political Declaration. In expressing the will of almost half the population of the world, the conference called for an immediate ban on the threat of use as well as the use of nuclear armaments by all states possessing them. It also called for the renunciation of all nuclear tests, and of the manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons. The participants in the forum supported a proposal that armaments be frozen at the present level and that negotiations be held on ending the arms race and disarmament with the purpose of concluding an effective agreement on the subject. They also favoured the establishment of nuclear-free zones throughout the world.

Another group of questions highlighted at the Conference was related to the problems of decolonisation, stopping foreign intervention and ensuring the right of all peoples independently to determine their destinies. In this regard the decisions made at the conference were marked by the greater directedness of the criticism of imperialist aggression and neo-colonialist exploitation. The Conference denounced US policy towards Latin America, southern Africa, the Middle East and, in particular, the United States' policy of giving military and political aid to Israel.

The growing contribution made by the nonaligned movement towards eliminating and overcoming crises, which often occur in the developing world, should also be emphasised. Today these efforts are becoming particularly important given the increasingly obvious "turn" the USA has made towards Asia and the former's evident desire to draw Asia into the strategic

arms race, deploy nuclear missiles with first strike capabilities there, and make the people of that continent nuclear hostages of the Pentagon.

The significance of the struggle the nonaligned countries are waging to establish "zones of peace", "zones of neutrality", "nuclear-free zones", etc., is becoming ever more evident. Let us take as an example the question of declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. For 15 years this has been on the agenda at various forums of the nonaligned countries. At their initiative, the UN passed a resolution on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace in 1971, but some Western powers, particularly the US, did all they could to frustrate the implementation of that resolution and undermine all initiatives and negotiations on that score. This was no accident, because the US has 29 military bases and strongpoints staffed by about 140,000 officers and men in that area. Moreover, the Pentagon has persistently been trying to obtain the port of Trinkomali (Sri Lanka) for its aggressive purposes, to set up a "support base" for the US 7th Fleet in Chittagong (Bangladesh), and to cover Pakistan with a network of air and naval bases (in Gwadar, Beluchistan, near Karachi and in other places).

That is why, from one conference to the next, the nonaligned countries have been increasing their efforts to secure the implementation of UN resolutions. With the support of the socialist community, they succeeded in getting a resolution passed at the last UN General Assembly on holding a conference in Colombo in 1986 for the purpose of forging an international agreement on turning the Indian Ocean, where more than

one billion people live, into a zone of peace.

Of course, it would be an unpardonable illusion to think that the mere quantitative growth of the ranks of the non-aligned movement is equal to the growth of its potential as a factor ensuring peace and security. The movement encounters objective and subjective difficulties which are used by the imperialist powers (at times successfully) to undermine it, and this naturally hinders the attainment of complete unanimity on certain problems related to the liberation and anti-imperialist struggle. The consensus achieved on a number of major issues of our day often becomes possible only when the degree of specificity is reduced, which makes the resolution less effective. Bilateral relations and conflicts among the developing countries themselves are, as a rule, discussed outside the framework of the nonaligned states' conferences.

One of the main reasons for this state of affairs is the very nature of the movement and its social diversity. The movement encompasses states with different socio-economic and political systems—from socialist republics to absolute monarchies. The dialectics of the development of the nonaligned movement are: the broader the movement becomes, the more diverse is the spectrum of social orientations it contains. The social heterogeneity of the movement's membership objectively leads them to diverge at times over foreign policy issues. The divergences in their positions become still more evident as the stress placed on economic development increases. This is a contradiction of life itself, a contradiction predetermined by the transitional nature of these societies. On

the one hand, all these states are objectively interested in overcoming economic backwardness, and, consequently, in restructuring the inequitable world economic system. But, on the other, different ruling groups take different approaches to the solution of concrete economic problems. They are not all capable of opposing neocolonialism to the same extent, and some of them are even ready to make major compromises with it.

It is not surprising, therefore, that on some important issues the nonaligned movement is not always capable of reaching a consensus. Certain conservative forces within the movement are sometimes able to impose decisions on it which can change and with regard to certain matters, even emasculate the progressiveness of the nonaligned movement's policies.

\* \* \*

In conclusion I would like to stress that more and more people in the developing countries are becoming aware that the current growth of military and political tension is not confined to relations between the two great powers or the two blocs. The aftermath of a nuclear conflict—if it takes place, irrespective of where it occurs—will be so catastrophic that not only its immediate participants will perish, but so will the populations of neutral countries which are at great distances from the arena of the clash. That is why today understanding of the causes and sources of the threat of war is growing, and the urge towards unity of action is becoming stronger. Despite the differences in their socio-political systems and their disputes, the peoples of the nonaligned countries have a broad platform that they

can use as a basis for communication.

As for the Soviet Union, it has invariably attached a great deal of significance to the anti-imperialist nature of the non-aligned movement. Moreover, it hopes that the movement will play an ever more important role in world politics. Respect for the interests of other countries lies at the heart of Soviet foreign policy. On the whole, the consistently peaceable foreign policy of countries that make up the socialist community plays a decisive role in opposing the aggressive aspirations of imperialism and promoting the freedom and independence of nations.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION COUNCIL MEETING HELD

Report of Meeting

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 17-18

[Report by Yevgeni Mova: "A Forum of Solidarity"]

[Text]

**F**or anti-imperialist solidarity, peace, development and social progress!" — that was the motto of the 14th Session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), held in Moscow on May 14-17. It was attended by delegations from 86 countries representing national solidarity committees, national liberation movements, revolutionary-democratic parties, mass democratic organisations and the anti-war movements of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas. Also taking part in the session were representatives of 34 international governmental and non-governmental organisations and special United Nations agencies.

The 14th Session was opened by the President of AAPSO, the well-known Egyptian writer Abdel Rahman El-Sharkawi who expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet leadership for the opportunity to hold the meeting in Moscow, and for the hospitality and warmth of the Soviet people.

A speech was made by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoly Dobrynin. He conveyed warm greetings and best wishes to the participants and, in their person, to the democratic, progressive public of the developing countries, from the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

The report of the AAPSO Permanent Secretariat was delivered at the session by the organisation's Secretary-General Nouri Abdel Razzak. He presented a detailed picture of the present international situation which is fraught with grave danger to the

destiny of mankind. The hopes of millions of peaceable people throughout the world that were pinned on the results of the summit in Geneva between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of the United States Ronald Reagan have yet to be fulfilled. Responsibility for this rests entirely with the American administration which is sabotaging all attempts to ease international tension and rejects the Soviet Union's constructive proposals to eliminate nuclear arms before the end of this century, to prevent the arms race from spreading into outer space, and others.

Of late the United States has launched a new massive offensive against the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Threats, intimidation, economic sanctions, blackmail and even outright aggression, as was the case with Libya, are used on a wide scale.

The forces of imperialism, the speaker went on, are sabotaging all UN resolutions on sovereignty over national resources, and on a new international economic and information order. Thereby they are fulfilling the will of monopoly capital, transnational corporations and the military-industrial complex, which have an interest in spurting on the arms race and exploiting the natural resources and cheap labour available in developing countries, which are bound hand and foot by debts.

In these conditions, Nouri Abdel Razzak continued, the AAPSO, which

brings together in its ranks fighters for peace and freedom from the Afro-Asian countries, sees as its task further intensifying the movement for universal and complete disarmament in the interests of peace, security and development. Guided by these principles the AAPSO conducted a major international action in Egypt in 1985 dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and Japanese militarism. It also took part in numerous international and regional meetings, including the "Together for Peace" conference of non-governmental organisations in Geneva in January 1986.

The AAPSO supported the aims of the International Year of Peace, proclaimed by the United Nations, and worked out plan of action to attain them. The organisation took an active part in various international conferences on eliminating regional seats of tension and conflicts, and in particular on the Palestinian problem, the situation in Lebanon, the acts of aggression against Libya, the undeclared wars on the peoples of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and Kampuchea, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the situation in the Mediterranean, etc.

The Soviet Union's peace offensive, launched with the aim of freeing mankind from the danger of nuclear war; the Delhi Declaration and subsequent appeals by the leaders of the six states; the repeated extension by the Soviet Union of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing and its subsequent proposals to limit the spread of conventional arms in Europe—all these steps were enthusiastically supported by AAPSO as helping to invigorate the massive movement against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, for general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The AAPSO has repeatedly called for the elimination of imperialist military bases located within the territory of other countries and aggressive military blocs, for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical, bacteriological and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

Thus, Nouri Abdel Razzak said in conclusion, the AAPSO has struggled and will continue to struggle to ensure that people may live in peace, without the threat of a global military conflagration, and to bring about

economic and social progress in the countries of Asia and Africa.

The participants in the session's plenary meetings discussed the most urgent problems of our time, particularly the problem of war and peace on whose solution the future of mankind depends. They adopted an appeal to the peoples of Asia and Africa, to the entire democratic public of the world which states: "It is our sacred duty to erect an insurmountable obstacle to nuclear war, to save life and civilisation on Earth". The Soviet Union's concept of an all-encompassing system of international security and the Soviet government's decision to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests once more, this time until August 6, 1986, are given full support in this document.

Another document, the General Declaration, denounces the policies of the imperialist circles led by the United States, policies directed at suppressing national liberation movements and establishing the dominance of these circles in various parts of the world.

Six special commissions worked simultaneously with the plenary meetings during the AAPSO's meeting in Moscow. They discussed disarmament and development issues, the situation in Asia, Africa and the Middle East, the struggle to end racism and apartheid, the decolonisation of information. In the course of lively discussions they drew up draft resolutions on all these issues. In its decisions the Council noted the indissoluble link between the ending of the arms race and the social and economic progress of the newly-independent countries, voiced support for the peaceable foreign policy of the USSR, condemned imperialism's attempts to draw more and more developing countries into the arms race, stated its intention to escalate the struggle for universal and complete disarmament, and confirmed the AAPSO's full support for those peoples who are struggling against imperialism and reaction. The 14th Session of the AAPSO Council patently demonstrated the unity of the aims pursued by the socialist world and the forces of national liberation, which oppose imperialism, and speak out in support of eliminating the danger of war, in support of independence, democracy and socio-economic progress.

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Dobrynin Speech

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 18-21

[ "The Soviet Union Sides With the Peoples of Asia and Africa" ]

[Text]

"I have great pleasure to convey to the participants in this meeting and, in their person, to the democratic, progressive public in the developing countries heartfelt greetings from the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and best wishes for success in your lofty work to rally the forces opposing imperialism in the struggle for a lasting peace, national independence and social progress.

"This is not the first time the capital of the multi-national Soviet Union played host to envoys of struggling peoples, which invariably find support and a source of inspiration in the first state of victorious socialism. It was here, in Moscow, in November 1919 that Lenin made a report to patriots and revolutionaries of the Orient on the national and colonial questions, in which he set forth the strategic concept of the unity of all forces opposed to imperialism. It can be said that this concept has been proven by history itself, by the outstanding victories of the national liberation movement. It remains fully relevant to this day.

"Today the solidarity movement and its national detachments focus their attention on the tasks of consolidating national independence and the socio-economic revival of the newly-free countries, of working to uproot the remnants of colonialism and racism, and to liquidate neocolonialism and seats of armed conflict in Asia and Africa and, of course, on the problems of universal security.

"The time we live in has tied all these burning issues into a single tight knot, and made their resolution dependent on the attainment of the goals which are paramount today—the elimination of the threat of a thermonuclear disaster, and the securing of a lasting and guaranteed peace.

"Our country has entered a crucial stage in its development. Soviet people rightly call the 27th CPSU Congress a congress of strategic decisions. It provided answers to fundamental questions put to the party and the people by life itself, exposed with utter frankness the problems in our society that need to be dealt with, worked out a very ambitious and yet realistic programme of action reflecting the hopes and aspirations of Soviet people. The execution of this strategy has begun. It is being done with vigour and confidence. We are deeply convinced that by relying on the boundless advantages and

potential of socialism, on the creative energy of the masses, we will be able to accomplish all we have set out to do.

"This meeting is taking place at a highly dangerous and alarming period in international history. Mankind has reached the point where its future is decided, as is the destiny of our common home — the planet Earth. This situation is the result of actions taken by imperialism, particularly American imperialism, of its desire to take social revenge on a global scale, and its attempts to overcome the growing crisis of the capitalist system.

"This intent, these attempts express themselves in the intensification of the arms race, in the creation of new types of 'super weapons', above all space weapons within the framework of the notorious Strategic Defense Initiative.

"The events of our time confirm that imperialism wants to launch a massive, large-scale counteroffensive on the newly-free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the military, political, economic and ideological fronts simultaneously. This imperial course has lately even received its 'theoretical substantiation' in the form of the concept of 'neoliberalism'."

In criticising imperialism's policy of perpetuating the social and political status quo throughout the world, and preserving the system whereby the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are exploited and enslaved, Dobrynin stressed that in the long run the historical process will continue to be determined not by the wishes of American administrations, and not by the selfish interests of the military-industrial complex or transnational corporations. Just as the advance of the popular revolutions in China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Cuba could not be stopped, so, too, will it be impossible to re-enslave the peoples of Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Libya and Nicaragua! Nobody will succeed in forcing the Arab people of Palestine to renounce its lawful national rights or the patriots of Namibia and South Africa to give up their struggle to gain independence, and bring an end to racism and colonialism!

The speaker noted that the global mechanism of neocolonialist exploitation is part and parcel of the imperialist policy of materially preparing for war. The arms race has its most baleful effect on the economies of the developing countries.

"Mankind faces a number of complex and difficult tasks. But there is one overarching task — averting a nuclear war. You and I understand," Anatoly Dobrynin said further, "that if we fail to avert a nuclear war, everything that has been done in the name of national independence and social progress will have been done in vain. But a scaling down of the arms

race would enable the world to save tremendous resources which could be used to help the developing countries, among others. We proceed from the premise that the struggle to prevent a nuclear war is also a struggle for the development of the newly-free countries and peoples."

Mr. Dobrynin's speech offered detailed proof that the struggle to avert the danger of nuclear war, stop the arms race, return to detente, preserve and strengthen universal peace, and ensure that the present and coming generations will have a future remains the main thrust of the CPSU's activities in the world arena.

Describing the concept of an all-embracing system of international security, set forth at the 27th CPSU Congress, the speaker noted that it pools the joint positive experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as of the entire international community expressed in the decisions of the United Nations and the nonaligned movement, in the constructive proposals of the "Delhi Six" and of other states belonging to different social systems, and of mass anti-war movements.

He emphasised the historic importance of the detailed programme for fully liquidating nuclear and chemical weapons and eliminating the danger of war, set forth by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986, and of the foreign policy initiatives contained in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Party Congress and in the speech by the head of the Soviet delegation to the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Berlin.

The initiatives directed at finding political solutions to conflicts in various parts of the world merge organically with the Soviet programme for strengthening peace and creating a system of international security.

Anatoly Dobrynin outlined the detailed package of measures proposed by the Soviet Union which aim at initiating constructive relations among the countries of Asia and the Pacific, a joint search for ways of settling the outstanding issues that divide them and at providing a basis for close and mutually advantageous cooperation.

"We note with satisfaction the improvement that has occurred in Soviet Union's relations with our great neighbour — socialist China," Anatoly Dobrynin said. "We proceed from the assumption that despite the differences that exist in the approaches to a number of international problems relations between our countries can be further improved, and this would facilitate the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and the improvement of the international situation as a whole".

"The USSR consistently and firmly supports the efforts the government of Afghanistan is making to strengthen the country's sovereignty, to defend the revolutionary gains of its people and to expand the progressive regime's social base. We hope the talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan mediated by the personal representative of the UN Secretary-General, which have now approached an important stage, will be successful, and we support any political settlement that will ensure a genuine cessation of armed and all other interference from outside in Afghanistan's internal affairs and reliably guarantee that such interference will not be resumed.

"Our country pays tribute to the historic gains of the Arab national liberation movement. It consistently comes out for a universal and just settlement of the Middle East crisis, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and for the Arab people of Palestine to be allowed exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and the creation of an independent state. We call on the international community to make new, persistent efforts to achieve a radical improvement in and normalisation of the situation in the Middle East. Now, as before, the Soviet Union is convinced that the road to this lies not through attempts to make separate deals, which have brought matters to a dangerous impasse, but through the convocation of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

"The Soviet Union supports turning the Mediterranean into a zone of lasting peace and cooperation, and has proposed that the navies of the USSR and the United States be withdrawn from the Mediterranean Sea. At the same time we suggested that a representative conference similar to the European one be convened at which it would be possible to study the entire range of questions involved in strengthening peace in that region, including confidence-building measures which have already justified themselves in practice around the world.

"The USSR calls on the government and public in every country, on all people of good will to mobilise their efforts in support of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the 'frontline' states so as to facilitate a prompt and just settlement of the problems existing there in the interests of stability and lasting peace.

"Our country consistently comes out in support of the lawful demand of the developing countries that economic international relations be restructured on a just and democratic basis. The convocation of a world congress on economic security as was suggested by the 27th CPSU Congress, would undoubtedly promote the economic decolonisation of these countries and the improvement of international economic relations.

"In its economic and scientific-technical relations with the developing countries the Soviet Union bases its policies on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and consideration for its partners' interests. In terms of its principles, aims and substance this cooperation constitutes a new type of international economic relations, distinct from the system of exploitation of these countries by transnational corporations. It strengthens the positions of young states in the struggle against neocolonialism."

Anatoly Dobrynin cited specific figures demonstrating that the Soviet Union's approach to this important matter is of a versatile nature, encompasses various spheres and helps the young states form their independent economies, promote culture and rationally train national cadres.

"We are firmly convinced that the principle imposed by imperialism — armaments instead of development — will be replaced by the principle — disarmament for development. The Soviet Union's proposals to reduce military budgets and allot a part of the resources thus made available to render assistance to the developing countries are directed exactly at this".

Then the speaker dwelt on the role of the non-aligned movement and noted that in the 25 years of its existence it has grown into a major force opposing imperialism and war. He declared that it is exerting a beneficial influence on the entire course of world affairs.

"The USSR is fully resolved to support in every way the efforts of the nonaligned countries in the struggle to achieve universal peace, to defeat the forces of aggression and neocolonialism, to settle all disputes and conflicts that arise through talks, and to establish a new world economic order," he said.

Reminding the participants in the AAPSO meeting of the approaching 45th anniversary of the beginning of fascist Germany's aggression against the Soviet Union, Anatoly Dobrynin stressed: "The main lesson that people have drawn from the past war is that aggression must be opposed resolutely and jointly before the fire of military conflagration begins."

"Being aware of its historic responsibility to its own people and to mankind, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party of historical optimism, proceeds from the premise that no matter how great the threat to peace created by the policies of imperialism's aggressive circles, a world war is not inevitable. The forces of militarism and aggression are today opposed by a powerful and ever growing potential for peace, reason and justice. This potential includes the vigorous peaceable policy of the sovi-

list countries, their growing economic and defensive might; mass anti-war movements; the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America which come out for peace."

In conclusion Anatoly Dobrynin noted the growing international prestige of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation that opposes imperialist aggression and neocolonial exploitation, gives invaluable moral support to the enemies of racism, apartheid, zionism, and colonialism, and expressed confidence that the session of the AAPSO Council will serve to further unify the anti-imperialist forces.

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#### AAPSO General Declaration

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 20-21

##### [Excerpts]

The Council took note of the present international situation, the dangerous consequences of the imperialist policies of escalating the arms race, brutally suppressing the national liberation movements, actively abetting the racist and Zionist regimes, tightening the grips of monopoly capital and transnationals of the US and other western powers on the developing countries and the imperialist policy of destabilisation by offering military and financial assistance to the counterrevolutionaries and finally resorting to direct aggression.

The Council also took note of the ever growing popular movements for nuclear disarmament, the courageous struggle of the peoples against racism and apartheid, against Zionism, for national liberation, against dictatorship, for democracy and social progress.

Imperialism, US imperialism in particular, having proclaimed an expansionist strategy of "neoglobalism", persists in continuing the arms race, and is trying to extend it to outer space. US imperialism seeks to establish its domination on the global scale. The attempts to carry on a massive counteroffensive against the historic gains of the national liberation struggles of Asian, African and Latin American countries is an integral part of this militaristic policy. The continuation of nuclear tests on the proving grounds of the state of Nevada, the barbaric aggression against Libya, the threats against Syria, the Democratic Yemen and other newly-free countries are dangerous manifestations of this strategy.

The intensified nuclear arms race has not only increased the danger of nuclear war and is endangering the existence of human beings, but hampers peace and development of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, ...Now is the time to rapidly mobilize more than ever public opinion and the movement calling for prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The peoples of the world warmly welcomed the Soviet proposals for completely liquidating nuclear arms by the end of

the century on the basis of the proposals put forward by the USSR on January 15, 1986. But so far the United States and its allies failed to respond to the Soviet proposals positively and favourably. The Soviet Union offered to negotiate with the USA in response to the appeal of the Six-nation Summit—Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden and Greece—for ending nuclear tests.

The participants in the Session ... welcome the idea of a Soviet-American summit meeting to deal with the issue of putting an end to nuclear tests. It is therefore imperative that the world public opinion must be mounted to force the US government and its allies to stop nuclear tests immediately, to start negotiations to end the nuclear arms race and the arms race in general, and to prevent spreading arms race to space as demanded by the UN resolution in its session during the 40th anniversary of the UN.

AAPSO joins all peaceloving forces in their endeavour to organise mass action, to educate public opinion to make the International Year of Peace, proclaimed by the United Nations, a success—a year that will witness the biggest mass mobilisation of peoples on all continents to create a world without war, a world without nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, a world where cooperation not confrontation will be the motto of life.

The Council took serious note of the imperialist policy of destabilisation and neocolonialism. After Grenada, Libya has been the latest victim of the crude, blatant and naked US aggression. The pretext is to fight terrorism. The biggest terrorist of the world President Reagan, to disguise his aggressive strategy and acts of state terrorism, uses the pretext of fighting terrorism. Together with all democratic forces, AAPSO has repeatedly condemned terrorism whether committed by individuals or groups. While condemning individual or group terrorism, state terrorism must not be condoned. President Reagan is an active accomplice in abetting state terrorism by the Israeli rulers against the Palestinian people, by the South African racist regime against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, where every day people are being killed for their 'crime' of demanding human dignity and independence. AAPSO condemns Reagan for his consistent slander against the national liberation movements as terrorist. Reagan does not bombard the Headquarters of the Zionist rulers in Israel and racist rulers of South Africa. But his weapons kill the innocent people of Tripoli and Bengazi. AAPSO condemns in strongest terms this bastardly act and calls upon the peoples of Asia and Africa to expose the hypocrisy of US imperialism.

AAPSO supports the struggle of the Asian peoples for the dismantling of all foreign military bases, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and dissolution of military blocs, as well as for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Participants in the Session support the efforts and initiatives of the socialist and nonaligned countries of Asia aimed at turning the continent into a zone of peace, goodneighbourly relations and cooperation, for demilitarising the Pacific and Indian Oceans, turning them into a nuclear-free zone of peace.

The participants urge that a broad forum of Asian public opinion—with as many political, social, religious and other forces as possible, be held to discuss the whole range of questions related to peace, security and independence in Asia.

The AAPSO Council endorses the proposal on the withdrawal of the US and USSR naval fleets from the Mediterranean and on the convening of an authoritative international meeting to work out agreements on making the Mediterranean a zone of peace and cooperation.

Information imperialism has been a growing menace to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Falsehood, half-truth, slander ... poison the mind and create an utterly distorted image of the socialist and nonaligned countries, and the liberation movements... The New International Information Order and the New International Economic Order must be translated into reality.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ECONOMIC STATUS OF AFRICAN SOCIALIST-ORIENTED STATES ANALYZED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 43-48

[Article by Leonid Fituni: "The Socialist-Orientation and Economic Matters"]

[Text]

The New Edition of the CPSU Programme stresses:  
"The non-capitalist way of development, the way of socialist orientation, chosen by a number of newly-free countries, is opening up broad prospects for social progress... Overcoming the resistance of external and internal reaction, the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are pursuing a course of abolishing the dominance of imperialist monopolies, tribal chiefs, feudal lords and the reactionary bourgeoisie; of strengthening the public sector of the economy; of encouraging the cooperative movement in the countryside; and of enhancing the role of the mass of the working people in economic and political life. Defending their independence against the onslaught of the imperialists, these countries are broadening their cooperation with socialist states. The road chosen by them meets the genuine interests and aspirations of the mass of the people, reflects their desire for a just social system, and coincides with the mainstream of historical development."

The majority of the countries of socialist orientation—Algeria, Angola, Benin, the Congo, Madagascar, Mozambique, Tanzania, Ethiopia and others—are situated in Africa. They include large developed states (by African standards) and tiny island republics. Almost all of them have been following this road for ten to twenty-odd years, and some embarked on it right after they obtained sovereignty. Therefore their experience is sufficient to be instructive.

They have scored successes in social and cultural spheres. The living standard enjoyed by working people is raising, education and medical services have become more available to

working people than ever before. For example, at the time Tanzania made its choice in favour of socialism (1967), the number of people who could read and write was approximately 60 per cent, while in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia (1975) the figures were 9,5 and 27 per cent respectively. According to the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) already by the year 1980 the number of people in these four countries who could read and write had reached 79, 43, 33 and 47 per cent respectively. During the same period the number of physicians per thousand inhabitants

increased in those countries 8, 3, 3.4 and 2.7 times respectively.

These impressive figures testify to economic progress, for without it they would be simply inconceivable. The public sector, which is set up and expanded by revolutionary-democratic regimes, not only serves as the basis for the struggle for economic independence, but also helps solve the problem of unemployment. According to ECA experts, its existence helped alleviate the crisis which gripped the continent in the early 1980s. On the whole, however, the state of the economies of the countries of socialist orientation gives them and their friends a reason to lament and their enemies occasion for open malevolence.

I would like to avoid unnecessary theorising, and, proceeding from empirical data, make

an attempt to separate the truth from the lies, the grain from the chaff.

\* \* \*

The levels of economic development of the countries in question differ greatly (see table). If we take GDP volume per capita as our basic criterion, we see that for Algeria, the Seychelles and the Congo this index is approximately two or three times greater than the average, while for Cape Verde, Benin, Madagascar, Tanzania and Ethiopia the figure is 50 per cent—80 per cent below the average African level. According to the UN classification system, the latter four countries belong to the group of "least developed nations". Let us note that the assertion made by Western bourgeois propa-

Data on the Level of Economic Development of Some African Countries of Socialist Orientation

Country	GDP per capita (doll.)	Rate of gross investment	Percent of GDP		Percent of employed		Foreign trade coefficient
			industry	agriculture	industry	agriculture	
per cent							
Algeria	2306	40.1	52.2	8.8	25	25	48.6
Seychelles	1670	32.3	20.8	7.7	..	..	54.5
Congo	1293	55.0	44.5	7.4	26	35	97.8
Angola	576	9.3	21.7	19.7	16	59	64.3
Mozambique	407	8.1	14.6	39.3	17	67	22.8
Cape Verde	374	22.1	25.3	21.2	..	..	82.7
Benin	278	20.0	14.1	47.3	16	46	60.7
Madagascar	266	14.6	16.9	44.3	4	87	35.7
Tanzania	221	19.1	12.7	55.1	6	83	28.0
Ethiopia	141	15.4	16.5	47.3	7	80	26.4
The average for this group of countries	753.2	23.6	23.9	29.8	10.5	60.3	52.2
The average for the developing countries of Africa	631.6	24.0	37.5	22.4	14	68	46.3

Calculated on the basis of information provided by UNECA. Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa. 1983-1984. Addis Ababa 1985, pp. 156, 158-162, 173-180. The data on employment in industry and agriculture were drawn from World Development Report 1982, New York, 1983.

ganda that the backwardness of these countries stems from their choice of the socialist option is totally unfounded. On the contrary, the leaders in these countries chose this option largely because they were convinced that their problems could not be resolved by capitalism which had allotted them a place at the exploited dependent periphery of its economy in advance.

Angola and Mozambique, against which imperialism has been waging an undeclared war since their inception, stand somewhat apart. The current level of production in these two countries is far below what they could achieve given fairly rich natural resources they possess and their considerable (by African standards) economic potential which, however, is not used to the full.

Everywhere, with the exception of Algeria and the Seychelles, the majority of the population is employed in agriculture and related sectors of the economy, whose contribution to the GDP's of the above-mentioned states, as well as to those of the Congo and Cape Verde, is less than that of industry. It is interesting to note that in three countries all the branches of material production create less than 50 per cent of the GDP (the Seychelles—only 28.5 per cent, Angola—41.1 per cent, and Cape Verde—46.5 per cent), while for two other countries the corresponding figures are a bit over fifty per cent (in the Congo—51.9 per cent, and in Mozambique—53.9 per cent).

The specific features of the various national development strategies and the differences in the ways funds are actually received for expanded reproduction are responsible for the big variations in the rates of

gross capital investment for different countries—from 55-50 per cent in the Congo and Algeria to 15-14 per cent in Madagascar and Ethiopia. The figures for Angola and Mozambique are extremely low because these states are compelled to earmark more than half of their budgets for defence and security. The rate of gross capital investment, which, as a rule, is relatively low, reflects a policy of making more efficient use of existing capacities, rather than creating new ones.

The foreign trade coefficient (the ratio between the value of foreign trade turnover and GDP value) gives us an idea of the extent of the national economy's orientation towards the external market and its dependence on imports. As the table shows it exceeded 50 per cent in five cases. This index, however, fails to reflect the dependence of certain countries on external loans and subsidies which for Cape Verde, Tanzania, Madagascar and Ethiopia, for example, are one of the main ways they finance their economic programmes.

The crisis in Africa has also hit the states of socialist orientation. The consequences of the crisis in the world capitalist economy, the growth of protectionism in the West and the deterioration of the conditions governing international trade in raw materials had an extremely adverse effect on their economies, and on the economic situation for the continent as a whole. In recent years many of these countries have been the victims of natural disasters—terrible droughts (Ethiopia, Cape Verde, Tanzania, Angola, Benin), locust invasions (Ethiopia and Tanzania), floods and hurricanes

(Mozambique and Madagascar).

For a number of the countries of socialist orientation the beginning of the 1980s was marked by lower rates of economic growth; some countries even saw a reduction in their GDPs. Between 1981 and 1982, the latter's value (in stable prices) dropped in Angola by 19.8 per cent, in Tanzania by 4.5 per cent, in Madagascar by 2.5 per cent and in Mozambique by 2.8 per cent. In other states it grew slower than the population. A sharp increase in cereal imports resulted in an outflow of hard currency from all the above-mentioned countries.

In 1982-1983, the drop in world prices for ground nuts, cacao, cotton, sisal, tea, copper and phosphates reduced currency earning for Ethiopia, Madagascar, Tanzania and Mozambique. The deterioration of the situation on the petroleum market cut the revenues of Algeria, the Congo and Angola.

Apart from the problems common to the entire continent, the countries of socialist orientation face others specific to them. Imperialism has not abandoned its attempt to change the direction of their socio-economic development. They must build a new life in the midst of an acute class struggle. By playing upon their objective difficulties, the West seeks to discredit their choice ideologically, to tie these states more firmly to the world capitalist economy, make them open their doors to TNCs, and lift all limitations on the activities of private capital. Karen Brutents, a prominent Soviet authority on the problems of the newly-free countries, notes that this neocolonialist campaign is developing within the framework of imperialism,

which is trying to "dismantle" their gains and, in particular, to weaken the state's ability to act as shield protecting independent development.

More often than not, the countries of socialist orientation encounter the unwillingness of Western states to give them credit, invest capital in their economies. Sometimes they become the objects of direct economic, political and even military pressure. Imperialists finance the armed anti-government groups which operate in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, whose tactics include destabilisation of national economies, acts of subversion, and economic sabotage.

Those are some of the features of the current stage of the above-mentioned countries' economic development. Despite the achievements they have scored in this sphere during the years of independence, a qualitative shift towards overcoming socio-economic backwardness has not yet occurred.

Today the socialist-oriented states face the task of realising the potential advantages of non-capitalist development, the advantages of the higher socio-economic form of labour organisation, and the advantages of relations of production and distribution that are more just. It is important to stress, however, that the declaration of this or that orientation in no way means actual movement towards the goal proclaimed. Everything depends on how persistently and consistently programmes are implemented. That is why we now speak of the potential advantages which the socialist orientation provides..

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Having passed the initial stage of reforms which, though,

as a rule rather radical by nature were not always carried out with due consideration for the situation that obtained, the states of socialist orientation now take a better thought-out approach to the problems of economic development and are searching for new ways of solving them. The critical evaluation of everything that has been achieved, their analysis of the errors made and elaboration of measures for rectifying those errors attest to their maturity. It was precisely this theme that predominated in the speeches at the Second Congress of the MPLA—Workers' Party, at the Extraordinary Congress of the National Liberation Front Party of Algeria, at the First Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, at the Fourth Congress of the Fretilmo Party, at the July 1985 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party and at other party forums in the countries of socialist orientation.

Obviously it is not by chance that, all differences in the economic development of their countries notwithstanding, the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties have actually set their national economies similar tasks. The point is to overcome the economic crisis, secure qualitative changes in the activities of the public sector, enhance the latter's efficiency, ensure an upsurge in agriculture and thereby come closer to solving the food problem, improve foreign economic ties, and continue pursuing policies aimed at raising the living standards of the masses.

National anti-crisis programmes have been developed to stop the fall in the level of production, particularly in agriculture, reduce industry's dependence on imports, reduce the budget deficit, while affect-

ing the system of price subsidies for staples as little as possible, and work for an influx of funds via international channels.

The majority of the countries of socialist orientation have refused to adopt the methods for overcoming the crisis, suggested by the IMF, which mainly boil down to lifting price controls, cancelling state subsidies, devaluating national currencies, "liberalising" the economy, i.e., weakening influence of the state on the economy, curtailing the public sector and privatising its enterprises.

It is precisely the strong and ramified public sector that became the mainstay for these countries as they tackled the difficulties that faced them. They are moving towards introducing a regimen of strict saving in the public sector, simplifying the structure of management and raising the profitability of production. This process is particularly active in Algeria and the Congo, where many formerly unprofitable enterprises began producing profits while using fewer workers and cheaper technologies after their operations had been reorganised. In its economic survey of 1985, the ECA noted that Algeria, despite its rapid population growth and its limited agricultural resources, succeeded in compensating for the losses from the drop in the world prices of oil and the reduction in its production by diversifying the oil and gas industry and increasing the share of petroleum products featuring a greater extent of refining in the overall volume of sales. As a result of building up natural gas production, the profits from its sale have now reached the level of oil export revenues. Economic management was somewhat decentra-

lised. Big corporations have been made over into smaller ones which are much more efficient and flexible than their predecessors were. Measures have been taken to stimulate private enterprise. Outside the oil-producing sector, the increment of production was seven per cent in 1983 and 1984.

Due to the successful fulfilment of the anti-crisis programmes, some countries of socialist orientation had by 1984 not only succeeded in checking the drop in production, but had even considerably increased it. The GDP increased by five per cent in Angola, 5.2 per cent in the Congo, 5.1 per cent in Ethiopia and 5.5 per cent in Cape Verde. This, however, in no way means that all the consequences of the crisis have been eliminated, since the previous crisis year. Moreover, the considerable, although not catastrophic, rate of inflation should be taken into account.

The drop in production continued in Mozambique and the Seychelles (-8.2 per cent in both cases). In Benin the increment was zero, while in Tanzania and Madagascar it was 0.5 per cent and 2.4 per cent respectively. In other words, when inflation and population growth are taken into account, the volume of the GDP per capita went down. Under these conditions clearly there is an urge to use local private and foreign capital and encourage the mixed sector in the interests of national development, although only insofar as it poses no threat to the socialist orientation.

After all the countries of socialist orientation revised their development strategies, greater attention to the problems of agriculture which took a back seat to industrialisation for a long time, became a common element for all of them.

Manufacturing industry's demand for foodstuffs and raw materials during the first half of the 1980s was met only 60-70 per cent in many of these countries. This type of situation hampers the establishment of an integrated economy: agriculture fails to meet the needs of industry, while the latter cannot find a sufficiently broad market for its commodities in rural areas.

Experience shows that the economic problems of the countries of socialist orientation are gravest in the area of agriculture, and this is due to its extreme backwardness and the preservation of traditional structures. More often than not, the influence of the revolutionary-democratic parties is weaker in the country than in the town. The question of more efficient economic management is extremely urgent: the profitability of many state farms and cooperatives is going down, and they cannot compete with big private entrepreneurs. The rates at which peasant cooperatives were formed slowed in Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar, and so on. In this connection, while they recognise the leading role the state and cooperative sectors play in agriculture, revolutionary-democratic governments transform these sectors' activities and occasionally restrict their area of distribution. These types of rectifications in agrarian policy have occurred for example, in Algeria, Mozambique, and Tanzania.

Industry continues to play a key part in the development strategies of the countries of socialist orientation. However, the current difficulties have brought about a shift in emphasis here as well. For example, in 1984 Tanzanian industry produced 80 per cent less added value than in 1980. In

Madagascar, after the big investments of the 1970s, a period of insufficient capital investment set in, and production is now marking time. Despite the fact that industry is still poorly developed, the industrial capacity that exists is underloaded considerably. Since it is hardly efficient to undertake new projects given this situation, the emphasis is being placed on enhancing the profitability of existing enterprises. The development of small-scale production is encouraged.

Almost all the countries of socialist orientation are experiencing a shortage of the financial resources necessary to bring about improvements in agriculture and industry, and they are compelled to import capital. In 1983 the foreign debt of Angola was \$1.7 billion, while Mozambique's was \$2.4 billion, Madagascar's was \$1.15 billion, Ethiopia's was \$960 million and the Congo's was \$840 million. Naturally, the influx of foreign capital only provides temporary relief. In the same 1983, Angola spent \$454 million to pay Western creditors' debts and interest on them, the Congo's repayments being \$174 million, Mozambique's \$148 million, Madagascar's \$48 million, and Ethiopia's \$20 million.

On the face of it, most measures taken by the countries in question to solve their economic problems are similar to those in capitalist-oriented countries. This similarity, however, is purely outward in nature, since the social orientation of these or those steps changes completely depending on the general direction of development. With the community of economic problems faced by the whole of Africa, states headed by revolutionary-de-

mocratic parties are applying an increasingly clear-cut class approach to their solution. The current reforms have a consistently anti-imperialistic character, being thus in the interest of working people.

One of the key factors aiding these states to overcome the economic heritage of colonialism is the expansion of mutually beneficial economic relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The CPSU Programme runs: "The Party attaches great importance to solidarity and political and economic cooperation with socialist-oriented countries. Every people creates, mostly by its own efforts, the material and technical base necessary for the building of a new society, and seeks to improve the well-being and cultural standards of the masses. The Soviet Union has been doing and will continue to do all it can to render the peoples following that road assistance in economic and cultural development, in training national personnel, in strengthening their defences and in other fields."

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The socialist orientation has proven its viability in extremely complicated conditions: the economic crisis which enveloped the African continent, and the onslaught of imperialism. Most of the revolutionary-democratic governments are firmly established, and this enables them to shift the emphasis from political stabilisation to the solution of economic problems. While overcoming the numerous difficulties the transitional period has presented them with, they want to take full advantage of their experi-

ences, and to learn from the mistakes they have made. A great deal has been done, but it does not yet completely meet the aspirations and demands of the masses. The countries of socialist orientation continue to fight to accelerate socio-economic development, introduce collectivist methods and forms of economic management, create a new economy and educate a new man to ensure a happy future for all.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

UPSURGE IN INFLUENCE, POLITICIZATION OF ISLAM VIEWED

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[Article by Vladimir Kiselyov: "Islam and the Policies of Asian and African Countries"]

[Text]

A tangible increase in the influence traditional-historical factors have on the socio-political development and foreign policy of Afro-Asian countries is among the new phenomena in recent political affairs. Islam is the most important of these factors for a big group of countries in the Islamic region. Since the 1970s, religious and political leaders in Moslem countries have increasingly been using certain Islamic tenets, commandments and slogans not only to establish their spiritual influence over the masses of believers, but also to achieve clear-cut political goals. Appealing to Islam, Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran called on the people to rise up against the despotic Shah's regime in 1978 and 1979. On October 6, 1981, the adherents of the Egyptian Moslem extremist group At-Takfir Wal-Khidjra (Aftonement and Exodus) came out against the regime of President Sadat because, in their opinion, he had betrayed "genuine Islam" by making a conspiracy with imperialism and Zionism. Under the banner of the religious teaching of Shiism, the Amal movement developed in Lebanon in the early 1980s. It opposes the Israeli occupation, and champions the political rights of Moslems-Shi'ites in Lebanon.

Citing these examples, some Western scholars note that many ambitious leaders in Asian and African countries have become aware that, according to Cruise O'Brien, for example, Islam can now be associated with revolution and power, rather than with reaction and political impotence, as was the case before. Moreover, according to another analyst—Professor James Bill of Texas University, in the coming forty years, popular (i. e., orthodox) Islam will become the most important ideological force in the world.

### ISLAM'S INCREASING POLITISATION

The modern stage in the evolution of Islam is marked, in particular, by the fact that its influence on the political sphere is assuming international scope. The tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine, the continuing Israeli occupation of Jerusalem and other Arab territories, the unabating crisis in Lebanon and the conflict between Iran and Iraq have a direct or indirect bearing on the interests and religious sentiments of the majority of the population in the Afro-Asian countries within the Islamic region and largely contribute to the political awakening of the most dispossessed and oppressed Moslem "lower classes". It should be noted that in a number of cases, the process of the politisation of the masses has an anti-imperialist edge.

The anti-imperialist edge of many of the actions taken by the Moslem masses in the Middle East and other countries in the Moslem world, together with the emergence of new religious movements there which oppose pro-Western regimes cause alarm and anxiety in Western countries. It is no accident that in the late 1970s a new concept, the "arc of instability", was developed in the United States. It included most "explosive" Moslem states: Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Lebanon, Egypt and Somalia. The author of that concept, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former US National Security Advisor, called on the United States to keep an eye on the political and social movements which were developing in those countries under the banner of Islam.

Hence, in the 14 centuries since its inception, during which time Islamic views have undergone big and small ordeals, Islam is now again moving to the forefront of the political arena. It is becoming an important factor in international relations in Asia and Africa.

### ACCIDENTAL OR PREDICTABLE?

Is the impact Islam has on the socio-political processes and foreign policies of Afro-Asian countries purely a matter of chance, transitional and temporal, or is it long-term and stable in nature? To what extent does Islam influence international relations in Asia and Africa? Does it act as an independent factor or does it operate in combination with the other socio-economic and political factors determining the stand a Moslem country takes in the modern world?

Foreign scholars point to a number of reasons for the invigoration of the Islamic movement or, as it is often called by the Western press, the "Islamic Renaissance". Some of them, such as the well-known French Orientalist E. Rouleau, see one reason in the

decay of the ideology of nationalism, and Arab nationalism, in particular. In an article on the situation in the Middle East published in the *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, he writes that after the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser there emerged an ideological "vacuum" of sorts in the Arab Middle East which could not be filled either by the leaders of the Arab nationalists, or by the leftist, Marxist parties. In the end Islam emerged in the arena of political struggle to fill that "vacuum".

Although there is some truth to E. Rouleau's analysis, it can hardly be regarded as exhaustive. While concentrating on the ideological aspect of the problem, i. e., on the "setback" Arab nationalism suffered, the author of the article passes over in silence the influence important changes in the socio-economic development of Arab and other Moslem countries had on the emergence of the "Islamic phenomenon". However, if one looks for the internal causes of the invigoration of the Islamic movement in the 1970s-1980s, they can be found in the economic and social living conditions in the majority of Moslem countries.

The accelerated development of capitalism in the 1950s-1970s, along with the preservation of the strong influence on the economy and social life exerted by the remnants of archaic structures (this was characteristic of all these countries) as well as their economic and military-political dependence on the Western powers did not help overcome the grave consequences of the many centuries of colonialist oppression. Definite growth in productive forces in the sphere of material production was highly uneven. Agriculture which continued to be dominated by the small commodity sector with its inherent low labour productivity, failed to provide the rapidly growing population with food, or industry with raw materials. The requirements of the population in the staple foodstuffs, even in those capitalist Moslem countries that experienced considerable economic growth (such as the oil-producing countries of the Middle East), were increasingly met through imports. The promises the leaders of Moslem states made to reach abundance and overcome backwardness remained unfulfilled.

This gave rise to disappointment and discontent among the popular masses over the direction, implementation and results of the socio-economic policy pursued by the ruling quarters. This discontent encompassed broad strata of peasants, workers, petty and middle bourgeoisie, and the Moslem clergy. In many of the countries of the Islamic world socio-political tension grew. This tension was exacerbated by the economic and military-political expansion of the Western powers as well as by the latter's interference in the domestic affairs of those countries. In the context of this explosive domestic political

sition, the public movements and organisations marching under the banner of Islam increased their efforts. It can be stated that the upsurge of the Islamic movement in the 1970s-1980s was primarily, on the one hand, the result of the disappointment the masses in Moslem countries felt with the socio-economic policies of the ruling quarters, and on the other, of their protest against the influence Western powers exert.

In particular, the developments during the first stage of the anti-monarchic revolution in Iran corroborate this conclusion. E. Rouleau wrote: "Foreign domination, despotism, injustice — these three targets of the struggle waged by the clergy were, in fact, the very evils from which Iranians suffered during the reign of Mohammed Reza. For this reason, it is easier to understand the dual nature of the popular uprising of 1978-1979, directed equally against US imperialism and the Shah's despotism, which were essentially two sides of the same coin."

The anti-government actions by the working masses in Pakistan, in Saudi Arabia in late 1979, in Egypt in October 1981, and in the Sudan in 1984-1985 were also of a dual nature. These actions were partly a result of the anti-monarchic revolution in Iran and simultaneously a reflection of the discontent the most dispossessed strata of the Moslem population in those countries felt with the oppression and despotism of the ruling elite.

In Islam there have always been different trends which gravitated towards the social medium from which they emerged. At the present stage, when the socio-economic development of the Asian and African countries is becoming increasingly uneven, the differentiation of the Islamic movement has intensified still further. New trends have emerged, whose ideologists and leaders hold different views on the role Islam should play in the modern world. There are two basic trends, which seem to have the most significant influence on relations within the Moslem world.

The first is the radical leftist trend, which is sometimes called "revolutionary Islam". Its adherents regard Islamic tradition as a means of countering imperialism and Zionism in Afro-Asian world. According to them, Islam has always been and continues to be a movement hostile to colonialism and oppression. As Halim Khaddam, Vice-President of the Syrian Arab Republic and member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party has noted, "It is essentially anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist in nature". Representatives of the radical leftist trend in Islam mainly take an anti-imperialist position on the basic issues of international relations in Asia and Africa. They pursue a policy of furthering a just and all-embracing solution to the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian problem, based on UN reso-

lutions. They favour a peaceful solution to the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, support the establishment of a new international economic order, and oppose the military intervention of the US in the Middle East and in other regions of Asia and Africa.

The second — the right-wing movement — is often called by the Western press "integrationist" or "fundamentalist". This religious, and at the same time social movement is based on a call to return to orthodox Islam, to its initial "purity", to establish the "Kingdom of the Koran" on earth by extending all the commandments of Islam and laws of Shariat to every sphere of socio-political and economic life in the Moslem countries, including their relations with the outside world.

The adherents to the contemporary fundamentalist trend oppose the influence Western imperialism and foreign monopolies have in their respective countries. At the same time, however, they are openly hostile to the world of socialism and the countries of socialist orientation. Moreover, they seek to use Islam, Islamic traditions and the anti-Western sentiments of rank-and-file Moslems to consolidate their power, to guard their countries from the influence of progressive, revolutionary ideas, and above all, the ideas of democracy and socialism.

The policy pursued by the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini is a case in point. When they came to head the Islamic Republic of Iran after the overthrow of the Shah in February 1979, they set a course towards Islamisation of the entire governmental and socio-economic structure of Iranian society and the elimination of imperialist strongholds in Iran. At the same time, soon after the triumph of the popular uprising and the formation of the Islamic republic, the right wing of the Shi'ite clergy that took power launched a campaign of cruel persecution of all "dissident" mudjahedins, fedayeen, particularly the supporters of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), i. e., of the most progressive and democratic forces in the country, that had played a decisive role in the overthrow of the Shah.

The negative aspects of the policies of the right-wing "fundamentalists" among the Moslems-Shi'ite headed by Ayatollah Khomeini manifested themselves in their refusal to form an alliance with democratic forces, in anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, in the denial of the rights of ethnic minorities, and in the attempts to apply the principles of the "Islamic revolution" in Iran to all Moslem countries. In point of fact, a political transformation occurred. The leaders of Iran moved towards extreme nationalism and chauvinism, and the republican government degenerated into a specific form of Islamic dictatorship, theocratic in nature. This evolution mirrors the complex nature of the domestic political struggle in the country and the split between the left

wing "revolutionary Islam" movement and the right wing of the Shi'ite clergy which represents traditional conservative movements.

A similar process can now also be observed among Islamic organisations and groups in Lebanon, the Sudan and a number of other countries in the Middle East. The experience of Iran and several other Moslem countries, shows that the elimination or limitation of imperialist influence as a result of an upswing in the Islamic movement does not necessarily eventually lead to a strengthening of the position of democratic and socialist forces.

#### THE ISLAMIC FACTOR IN REGIONAL POLICY

Specific manifestations of Islam and the very extent of the influence it has on the foreign policies of Moslem countries and on international relations in Asia and Africa differ in various regions of the Afro-Asian world. They are primarily felt in the Middle East. This is explained not only by the region's central location in the Islamic world, but also by the existence of a number of political problems which trouble Moslems in all Asian and African countries. These include the Arab-Israeli conflict and the closely related Palestinian problem. In that problem the national aspect is intertwined with the religious one, i. e., with the aspiration to liberate Jerusalem — a sacred city containing Moslem objects of worship — from Israeli occupation. According to Adnan Abu Oudah, a prominent Jordanian political figure, the religious aspect, which arose in 1967 after Israel had occupied the whole of the former territory of Palestine, including Jerusalem, has been further aggravated, because in 1980 Israel officially declared Jerusalem to be the capital of the State of Israel. "Since 1967", Abu Oudah writes, "the liberation of Jerusalem and the rescue of the sacred objects of Islam, in addition to the need to restore the national rights of the Palestinian people, have become a major foreign policy objective of all Arab governments, as well as of the Moslem countries in general".

It can be said that the establishment in 1969 of a Special Committee on Jerusalem and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) which now brings together representatives of 46 Asian and African Moslem countries and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and serves as the main bearer of Islamic ideas and concepts in the international arena was, to a certain extent, connected with this objective.

The problem of Palestine and Jerusalem was the main topic on the agenda at the 3rd and 4th Conferences of the Heads of State or Government of Moslem Countries in Mecca (1981) and Casablanca (1984). The communique issued by the Conference

in Mecca says, in part, that the "conference decided to regard the Palestinian problem as the core of the problems in the Middle East and the principal concern of the Islamic 'umma' (nation)".

The final document of the 4th Conference — the Casablanca Charter — reaffirmed the members' support for the Arab plan for settling the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian problem, adopted in Fez in September 1982. It also reflected the resolve of the Moslem countries to continue the struggle for the liberation of Arab lands and Jerusalem from Israeli occupation.

Although the attempts the Moslem OIC member-states have made to join forces to attain the objectives set have not yet yielded tangible results, they have not been fruitless. Adhering to the common strategy elaborated at the OIC Conferences in Mecca and Casablanca, the Islamic states spoke as one in the UN and in the nonaligned movement in voicing their support for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian problem. They were responsible for convoking a special session of the UN General Assembly in July 1980 to consider the Palestinian problem, thereby promoting broad international recognition of the PLO and condemnation of Israeli policy. Their overwhelming majority rejected the Camp David policy of a separate settlement of the Middle Eastern problem.

Early in 1986 the Conference of OIC Foreign Ministers, held in Fez, unanimously censured the hostile campaign launched by the United States and Israel against Libya and Syria. Two years earlier, however, at the conference in Casablanca the OIC decided to restore Egypt's membership even though it had not rejected the Camp David Accords concluded by Sadat. The OIC was one of the sponsors of the resolution which "condemned" the actions of the USSR in Afghanistan (the 35th General Assembly in 1980) and took part in the Washington-organised campaign to render "aid" to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries under the guise of "protecting Islam".

The United States and its allies in NATO are trying to use the sharp conflict within Islamic movement and the OIC over the "Afghan issue" to their own ends. Relying on the right-wing trends and their supporters in the OIC, who continue to determine that organisation's stand on the "Afghan issue", they are going out of their way to set the Islamic world against the Soviet Union, split the OIC into separate groups, and draw the Moslem countries into adopting the policy of global confrontation with the USSR pursued by Washington. They pay particular attention to Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, rendering to these countries, and, via them, to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, a great deal of economic and military aid.

In terms of its regional policy, the OIC has devoted considerable attention in recent years to the Iranian-Iraqi conflict. Fearing the pernicious consequences of the conflict as regards the situation in Southwest Asia and the unity in the Moslem movement, right after the beginning of the war between Iran and Iraq in 1980, the OIC tried to interfere and play the role of mediator in the negotiations on the discontinuation of hostilities. Late in 1980 it sponsored an extraordinary meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Moslem countries in New York, which proposed that the two sides call a ceasefire and start negotiations on a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The Committee of Seven, which included Senegal, Zambia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Guinea and the PLO, offered the good offices of the OIC to settle the conflict. The committee was formed at the Mecca Conference.

Further developments showed, however, that the efforts of that committee and of separate Moslem countries yielded no results. The conflicts that exist between the ruling regimes in Iran and Iraq proved stronger than "Islamic Solidarity". Iraq has declared its readiness to start negotiations more than once, thus meeting the OIC half-way, but the Iranian government has invariably refused to hold such negotiations until the Saddam Hussein government is removed from power in Iraq. It is evident that the policy pursued by the Islamic leadership of Iran with regard to Iraq, particularly its hostile stand on Afghanistan is in the corporate interests of the Shi'ite circles which are in power in Iran, but runs counter to "Islamic solidarity" and the common struggle of Moslem peoples against their principal enemies — imperialism and Zionism.

With regard to some aspects of regional policy in the Middle East Islam acts as a structural factor (for example, the OIC's Islamic strategy vis-à-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian issue and the Jerusalem problem), while in West and to some extent in Central and East Africa, the Islamic influence on regional relations is primarily indirect. Here I mean the participation of a number of countries in those regions in the pan-Islamic movement, in the OIC and in some of its organisations, chiefly economic, including the Islamic Bank of Development, the Islamic Centre of Trade Relations and so on. A number of countries (Gabon, Chad, Niger, Cameroon, Somalia, Djibouti and a few others) participate in these OIC organisations mainly in the hopes of obtaining economic and financial aid from their "rich" Moslem "brothers", the large and oil-producing countries of the Middle East, which include Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Iran, and Iraq.

The Islamic movement in Southeast Asia has its own special features. In a number of countries in that region the influence the Islamic factor has on foreign policy and regional relations depends more often than not on the internal political situation and the degree of interest the ruling regime has in rapprochement with the international Islamic movement and participation in the OIC for the purpose of "neutralising" domestic opposition from Islamic groups and organisations. In other words, it is explained not so much by religious motivations as by the political and economic interests of the ruling regime. However, as in the Middle East, the influence of the Islamic factor is of a dual nature: in some, cases, under the impact of "Islamic Solidarity", these countries take anti-imperialist stands, such as by supporting the Arab countries on the Palestinian issue. In other cases they follow the lead of reactionary, pro-imperialist forces. The stands they have taken in the UN with regard to the "Afghan issue" and the "denunciation" of the foreign, i. e., Vietnamese "intervention" in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea are a case in point.

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With all the differences that exist in the degree and forms of influence the Islamic factor exerts on the foreign policies of certain countries in Asia and Africa, it is evident that in the coming years Islam will continue to be an important factor encouraging the growth of nationalism on regional and local levels. Moreover, the politicisation of the masses which characterises the current stage of the Islamic movement, on the one hand, and the aggravation of the objective contradictions between the neocolonial policy of the US and its allies, on the other, cannot but promote anti-imperialist tendencies in the Islamic movement and the foreign policies of many Muslim states in Asia and Africa.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### ARAB TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION 30TH ANNIVERSARY NOTED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 92-94

[Article by Alexander Notin: "In the Struggle for Workers' Rights"]

[Text]

The International Confederation of Arab Trade-Unions (ICATU) was established in Damascus in March 1956. The event was anticipated by the entire course of the working class and trade-union movement, and determined, in part, by the growing necessity to coordinate the Arab workers' struggle not only for the political independence of their countries, but also—and to a larger extent—for progressive development.

In the over thirty years of its existence the confederation has notably broadened the scope of its activities. While a mere seven trade-unions from five Arab countries were represented at the ICATU constituent congress, this umbrella organisation now has sixteen full-time members representing 4.5 million workers\*.

Apart from the national trade-union organisations, the ICATU includes ten trade asso-

ciations. The activities of both groups are coordinated by six committees: organisational, legislative, international relations, propaganda, social and financial.

In keeping with the ICATU Charter and Programme adopted by the organisations' first constituent congress, the supreme authority rests with the All-Arab Trade-Union Congress, convened every four years (the subsequent ICATU congresses were held in 1959, 1965, 1969, 1972 and 1976 in Cairo which, until 1978, served as the confederation's headquarters. The seventh congress was held in Damascus in 1979).

Between congresses, the organisation is run by the Central Council (previously known as the Executive Council), whose members are elected by the confederation's supreme organ, as is the General Secretary.

Outlined in the Programme are the main priorities of the ICATU: better working conditions for labourers, the elimination of unemployment and forced labour, full employment, the standardisation of labour laws, the provision of vocational training courses for workers, the safeguarding of democratic and trade-union liberties, the promo-

\* Trade unions from Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, Algeria, the Arab Republic of Yemen, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Oman, Syria, Somalia, the Sudan and Tunisia. Also participating in the work of the ICATU are observers from Djibouti and Bahrain.

tion of industrialisation and cooperation, the widest possible participation of the workers in the public and political lives of their countries and the region as a whole, the consolidation of unity and mutual assistance between Arab trade-unions in their struggle against imperialist domination, the rally of Arab working-class movement on the basis of national unity, the fight for peace, democracy and social progress.

Since its very inception, the ICATU has been the object of frenzied attacks by imperialist forces and their henchmen in the Arab world. Their main goal has been to weaken the Arab trade-unions' internal unity and to divert national trade-union organisations towards social reformism and opportunism. This subversive policy was carried out in the late 1950s and early 1960s by the International Confederation of Free Trade-Unions (ICFTU), which espoused anti-communism and "class cooperation". At that time, the ICFTU actively echoed the then ICATU leadership's views concerning the supposed "exclusiveness" and "specific nature" of the Arab world, as well as the tendency towards regional isolationism. As a result, the ICATU had only limited ties with the international progressive trade-union movement led by the World Federation of Trade-Unions (WFTU) and cooperation was minimal.

However, the main trend governing the entire evolution of the confederation remains that of strengthening its unity and increasing the use of the class and internationalist approach to world and regional events.

Today we can single out the following as the main lines of the organisation's work.

The struggle against imperialism is one of the ICATU's priorities. The confederation has repeatedly initiated and organised

anti-imperialist worker action in the Arab countries. Thus, during the 1956 tripartite aggression perpetrated by Great Britain, France and Israel against Egypt, it called on Arab trade-union organisations to stand by their beleaguered neighbour. Although lack of unity within the ICATU frustrated the plans for a general strike of protest slated for August 16, 1956, the concerted action of Iraqi, Syrian, Kuwaiti, Saudi Arabian and Sudanese workers, who went on strike, held demonstrations and perpetrated acts of sabotage, contributed, to a certain extent, to the aggression's failure.

In the subsequent years, the confederation repeatedly came out in support of the Algerian revolution, the Iraqi republic, and the struggle the peoples of South Yemen, Lebanon, Syria and other Arab nations waged to forestall intervention by imperialist forces. The ICATU resolutely supported the struggle of Arab workers during the third (June 1967) and fourth (October 1973) Arab-Israeli wars. It has firmly condemned Israel's military provocations against sovereign Lebanon which have continued unabated since 1975 and resulted in an act of open intervention Israel would never have ventured had it not been for the allround support that state receives from the US. The confederation unfailingly subscribes to the peaceful initiatives put forward by the USSR and other socialist countries aimed at bringing about a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East. The ICATU endorsed the Soviet proposals on the Middle East advanced in June 1984.

The confederation's stand was approved by the World Trade-Union Congress held February 10-15, 1982, in Havana.

The Palestinian issue figures prominently in the activities of the ICATU. The 6th and 7th con-

gresses of the confederation held in Cairo (1976) and Damascus (1979) stressed the necessity of lining-up comprehensive material, political and military aid for the PLO and the entire Palestinian people. This strategic objective is a source of primary concern for the ICATU. Speaking at the 10th World Trade-Union Congress, the confederation's General Secretary, Ahmed Jelloud, called on all the progressive trade-unions to "give the utmost support to the just cause of the Arab nation, especially the Palestinians; the Arab people of Palestine should be allowed to return to its homeland and set up an independent state under the guidance of the PLO—its sole legitimate representative."

Of late, the confederation has been increasingly preoccupied with opposing the anti-Arab, pro-imperialist policy of striking separate deals with Israel embarked upon by the late Egyptian president, Anwar Sadat. From the start, the ICATU has bitterly opposed the notorious Camp David process.

And, finally, another important aspect of the confederation's work is its defence of democratic and, in part, trade-union rights in the Arab countries. Unlike the states of socialist orientation (South Yemen, Algeria and Syria) where the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties support and encourage trade-union activity which seeks to ensure the most extensive possible involvement of the workers in running the economic and political life of their countries, Arab states such as Saudi Arabia and some Persian Gulf emirates have enacted laws strictly banning all types of public organisations, including trade unions.

Trade unions face enormous difficulties in the Israeli-occupied territories. They are one of the main victims of the ruthless system of political and socio-economic discrimination against the native population the Israeli invaders have instituted here. Palestinian trade unions are an object of systematic persecution and terror.

In its fight for democratic and trade union liberties, the ICATU enjoys the support of the progressive international trade-union movement, most notably the WFTU. It was no coincidence that on behalf of this organisation's 270 million members the 10th World Trade-Union Congress resolutely condemned the violation of trade-union rights in Palestine, in occupied Arab territories and also in the Sudan, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, Bahrain and other Arab countries.

The consolidation of the alliance between the confederation and the WFTU—the basis for which was laid in the 1960s—is presently gaining special significance.

Both the WFTU and ICATU jointly support the struggle of the Arab, Iranian and Afghan peoples and consistently promote the cause of national and social liberation.

The ICATU is becoming an increasingly prestigious organisation worldwide. At present, it is a consultative member of the Economic and Social Council, the International Labour Organisation, the League of Arab Nations and the Organisation of African Unity. It extends its cooperation with a number of regional trade-union organisations, particularly the Organisation of African Trade-Union Integrity.

Speaking at the 10th World Trade-Union Congress, ICATU General Secretary Jelloud called on all the workers of the world to provide comprehensive support to the national-liberation movements in Africa, Asia, Central and South America (particularly those in El Salvador, Chile, Namibia and South Africa), to denounce the US-backed racist aggression against the Republic of Angola, and to protest the production and deployment by the United States of the neutron

bomb and nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

The 1970s and early 1980s saw a dramatic improvement in the relations of friendship and cooperation that exist between the ICATU and the trade-unions of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. This relationship is being built on the basis of "strengthening the strategic alliance with the socialist system and its vanguard—the Soviet Union", outlined by the sixth and seventh congresses of the confederation.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SWAPO GENERAL SECRETARY TOIVO YA TOIVO

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 54-56

[Report by Yuri Gorbunov: "Back into Service"]

[Text]

A seaside resort in the Crimea. The Black Sea, the caressing sun and the green cypress trees. I am speaking with Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, a world-renown inmate (now ex-inmate) of the prison on Robben Island near Capetown, and General Secretary of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) which was founded by him and his comrades-in-arms over twenty five years ago. He has spent 18 years in jail for actively opposing and inciting the masses to rise up in revolt against the hateful colonial racist regime.

I

Toivo ya Toivo was born in 1924 in a kraal in Ovamboland, in northern Namibia. His father, a common member of the native village community, later in life became a teacher at a missionary school. Only when he was 17 did Toivo manage to complete his primary education. He was unable, however, to find work on the reservation and volunteered for the army. World War II, which had been unleashed by Nazi Germany, was in full swing. Local German colonists held mass meetings, urging their sons to join the Führer's Wehrmacht. Service in the British dominion's troops (the Union of South Africa) signified support—if only symbolic—for the forces fighting to defeat fascism.

Black recruits who were trained in Tsumeb were not issued weapons. As members of auxiliary units they only did guard duty. In December 1942, they were sent to the Union of South Africa. For the first time in his life Toivo travelled across the vast expanses of Southern Africa. He did a stint of several months in Pretoria and was demobilised in September 1943.

He dreamed of continuing his studies, but this was not to be. Then he signed a contract as a farmhand. The farmer's wife was cruel and insulting towards the farm labourers. Toivo decided to leave the farm without even receiving his pay, but the farmer's wife called the police in to prevent him from breaking his contract. He had to

submit. Finally the contract expired, and the young man left for his native country. The same year (1945) he enrolled in a secondary school in the village of Odibo. Then, on his father's advice he took a teachers' training course. In 1950 and 1951 he taught at a missionary school, but the monotonous life of the village community was unsatisfying to a man who had been to Pretoria and other big cities. He turned to the South West African labour exchange, but to no avail: no one from Ovamboland was hired for work in South Africa. With a group of his fellow tribesmen he made a long journey to the neighbouring reservation and from there to Bechuanaland (Botswana) where Black miners are traditionally recruited. Soon he was working as a miner at a pit near Johannesburg. Hellish work, miserable pay. A cot in a barrack surrounded by barbed wire like a concentration camp. It was intolerable! He escaped and lived in Johannesburg for half a year as an outlaw. Eventually he got acquainted with a kind man who supplied him with papers required for residence in Capetown. Then, police training courses and several months' duty as a railway policeman. In 1953, he took a job at a furniture factory.

It was a time of great political unrest, with the oppressed majority opposing the policy of apartheid that had been established in the country five years earlier. The Communist Party was banned. The authorities used all the repressive machinery at their disposal against the opponents of the regime. The African National Congress (ANC) and the Indian Congress (IC) launched campaigns of civil disobedience with regard to the racial laws.

One day Toivo happened to receive an ANC invitation to a "picnic". Interested, he attended. The speeches he heard there convinced him that South African and Namibian patriots had many problems in common. He regularly attended ANC meetings at which a united programme of action was discussed. This was the future Charter of Freedom, approved in 1955 at an extremely broad forum attended by representatives of all the country's races and nationalities. Toivo learned much that was useful about the history of the liberation movement in Southern Africa from local ANC and IC activists. He began to read progressive newspapers. English, which he had studied so zealously at the secondary school, now came in very handy.

"New forms of mobilising my countrymen for the liberation struggle are needed," thought Toivo. "Unless they speak for themselves, and not through tribal leaders, nothing will change." He came up with an idea of creating the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC), which was founded in 1957. The members of this organisation, composed of Namibian migrant workers without any political experience, would meet to express their indignation with apartheid laws and the enslavement of their country as well as to demand the right to skilled work, wages equal to those Whites were earning for the same work, freedom of movement and freedom in the choice of residence within the country. This was as much as the OPC did as it had neither Rules, nor clear-cut programme and was dissolved a year later upon Toivo's

deportation from South Africa. The OPC failed to carry out any organised action or establish relations with workers in Namibia itself.

## II

Hundreds of pages have been cut out from inside the book with a razor to make a cache for a cassette with the taped text of a letter to the United Nations. The letter has already been posted; the tape is just a safeguard. How should the clerk at the post office know that the young African, Toivo ya Toivo, who is sending Robert Louis Stevenson's novel *Treasure Island* to M. Kerina in New York is acting on the instructions of the council of Herero leaders in an effort to assist an English priest who represents Supreme Chief H. Kutako's interests at the international organisation?

It should be recalled that in 1957 the UN General Assembly set up a "good offices" committee to study the condition of the natives in South West Africa (Namibia), which was under the trusteeship of the Union of South Africa. The visiting Committee members were taken to several schools and hospitals for the Black population built specially for them to see on their visit. They decided that the greater part of the territory should be annexed to South Africa as its fifth province, while international trusteeship ought to be extended only to the north with its densely populated reservations.

Racists had nearly succeeded in persuading the good offices committee to support their plan for dividing Namibia when a letter was read from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly. It contained numerous facts supporting the allegations that South Africa had ruled the trust territory as if it were a colony, that Western companies were plundering its natural resources and the native population had been reduced to the status of slaves. The letter was made part of the UN official record (the cassette arrived too late but it was not needed). Complaints about the outrages of racists in Namibia had been received from its natives earlier, but the testimony of an educated man constituted convincing, logical and irrefutable evidence.

The incensed South African authorities retaliated immediately by having Toivo fired and ordering him to leave South Africa within 72 hours under pain of arrest. There was, of course, no use in protesting.

On his way home Toivo met in Windhoek with Chief Kutako and other Namibian political leaders who thanked him for delivering the letter to the United Nations and invited him to stay with them in the administrative centre of the territory and take part in their activities. Knowing that he was being secretly watched by the police and that he was therefore tied hand and foot, he politely refused.

On returning to Ovamboland Toivo set to work putting the OPC back on its feet. Under the name of the Ovamboland People's Organisation it started functioning again in April 1959. The members elected Sam Nujoma its president. The life story of a thirty-year-old Black was similar to that of Toivo. He was also the son of a poor native

from a kraal; subsequently he went to live with his relations in Windhoek. In the late fifties he worked as a servant in the home of a white railway engineer while studying at nights. Nujoma began taking part in politics when the news about the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, petitions to the UN from Namibia and Toivo's letter hit the headlines.

December 10, 1959 was as tragic a day for Namibia as March 21, 1960, the date of the Sharpeville bloodbath, was for South Africa. On that day the police shot down peaceful marchers in Windhoek's old location, who were protesting against their resettlement in a "black ghetto" in the suburb of Katutura.

The events in Windhoek also demonstrated that the tribal chiefs were unable to lead the struggle of the masses and to prevent splits between Blacks and Whites, Blacks and "Coloureds", and Blacks from different ethnic groups. There were also differences between the various "young" African organisations. Persistent efforts and time were required to bring them together and create united front. It fell to SWAPO (founded on April 19, 1960), the successor to the OPO, to carry out this mission.

Toivo ya Toivo originally thought that in Namibia, as in South Africa, ethnic "congresses" would first arise and that these would later merge into a national organisation along the lines of the ANC. But over the previous 50 years conditions in Africa had changed so radically that the pattern would not be repeated. The ethnic orientation of many of the local organisations with which SWAPO sought to achieve unity led to their collapse. Only SWAPO's programme expressed the aspirations of all Namibians. It called for complete independence, universal suffrage, an end to racial discrimination, freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association, a ban on forced labour, etc. And only SWAPO was recognised as the sole, genuine and lawful representative of the Namibian people.

But we are getting ahead of ourselves. At that time Toivo and his assistants were only beginning to organise local branches of SWAPO. As a cover he opened a small shop, bought a second-hand car and travelled throughout the reservation (allegedly on business) to explain to the people what SWAPO stood for, its plans and intentions, and to make them believe in their own strength.

### III

Despite SWAPO's proposals the South African government flatly refused to sit down at the negotiating table with Namibian organisations and to comply with the UN resolutions on Namibia. Therefore the SWAPO Executive Committee decided to start preparations for an armed struggle. There was no other way out, not for Angolans when they took up arms in 1961, or for patriots of South Africa where a militarised organisation Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Nation's Spear) also came into being within the ANC, or for Mozambicans who challenged the colonialists in 1964. One year later the first unit of Namibian fighters which had been sent to Arab countries for military training, returned home.

Some Executive Committee members felt that decisive action was premature but Toivo was not one of them. He got in contact with the guerrillas and supplied them with food, clothing and explosives.

In the summer of 1966 after endless discussions the International Court in the Hague turned down Ethiopia's and Liberia's request for a UN trusteeship over Namibia. On August 26, SWAPO rebels responded by attacking the South African garrison in the town of Ongulumbashi, thereby initiating a new phase in the struggle for a free Namibia, which continues to this day. On September 9, Toivo was arrested: a traitor, acting as a go-between, went to the police with a note Toivo had written to SWAPO Executive Committee member, John-ya-Otto, and the dynamite intended for guerrillas. The authorities arrested about 40 other prominent members of the organisation before the end of the year, acting on information supplied by traitors.

I did not want to give my interlocuter unnecessary pain with questions about the inhuman tortures and humiliations he and his friends suffered in jail. We know of them from the memoirs of the South African lawyer Carlson and John ya-Otto. Toivo was delivered by plane to Kompot prison in the capital, where the guards gave him a severe beating. Then, they blindfolded him, made him hang by handcuffs from a steampipe, and tortured him with electric current. The torture went on for nearly four days and nights. One of the guards taunted him: "So, where's your United Nations? Here in Pretoria we can do anything we want with you. We'll make another man out of you!"

But the sadists were wrong. They could not break the will of the courageous fighter. The trial took two years, as it was not easy to prove that the Namibian patriots were terrorists. Each time the defendants marched to the building surrounded by armed policemen with police dogs. Guards with machine guns were placed in the courtroom, along the walls and in the first two rows of seats for the public.

On the final day of the trial Toivo ya Toivo spoke on behalf of the defendants. In his speech, which was published by SWAPO and the UN, he said: "We are Namibians and not South Africans. We do not now, and will not in the future recognise your right to govern us; to make laws for us in which we had no say; to treat our country as if it were your property and us as if you were our masters... I have spent my life working in SWAPO which is an ordinary political party like any other. Suddenly we in SWAPO found that a war situation had arisen and that our colleagues and South Africa were facing each other on the field of battle. Although I had not been responsible for organising my people militarily and although I believe we were unwise to fight the might of South Africa while we were so weak, I could not refuse to help them when the time came."

Toivo called for Namibian unity, for a struggle that would not end until a complete victory had been won. I have in my archives original editions of this speech and other SWAPO documents which I received from SWAPO members who had visited the Soviet Union at different times. Toivo

leafed through the documents with interest. Some of them he saw for the first time. When he came across the list of 37 "terrorists" who, together with him, had been sentenced to long prison terms, I asked Toivo what had become of them. Eighteen were still in jail, three were dead and two had left the movement.

"One of them," Toivo informed me, "has even become an important and thriving businessman."

I next asked what had become of some nationalists who had started their political career together with Toivo. Their lives, it turned out, had taken different directions. M. Kerina, for example, lived in the US for a long time, married an American and at the invitation of the authorities attended the 1975-1977 "Constitutional Conference" in Namibia which sought to create a coalition of white racists and their black puppets—the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). The alliance was supposed to replace SWAPO as the internationally recognised representative of the Namibian people.

The racial colonial administration instructed M. Kerina to talk Toivo into attending the conference, in the hope that he was utterly exhausted by imprisonment, unaware of the situation in the country and ready to pay any price for freedom. Had the attempt to deceive him into taking part in the conference and the subsequent farcical "National Assembly" elections succeeded, many a hesitant Namibian would have joined the DTA. But the prisoner guessed the intentions of the enemy and refused the "favours" offered him in exchange for his betrayal of the cause. He spent seven more years in jail.

Why then did the South African rulers release him in the spring of 1984? He presumes that Pretoria was seeking to lull the neighbouring African states by demonstrating its "good will" during the negotiations with representatives of Angola, Mozambique and SWAPO. Incidentally, the racists' hopes were not justified—Toivo condemned their foreign policy manœuvres.

The SWAPO Central Committee elected Toivo ya Toivo the General Secretary of SWAPO. As General Secretary he headed SWAPO's delegation to the 1984 London International Conference on Namibia ("One Hundred Years of Foreign Occupation and One Hundred Years of Struggle"). "The documents submitted to this conference," he declared, "expose the shameful cooperation that exists between world imperialism and the racist South African regime, which seeks to intimidate the Namibian people... Despite the machinations of the imperialists, their threats and blackmail all Namibian patriots will continue their just struggle for genuine independence until victory has been achieved".

\* \* \*

We went out into the street. The air was intoxicatingly refreshing. The grove on the mountain slope had just been washed by rain. In the slanting rays of the setting sun the Black Sea looked turquoise. Parting with Toivo I wished this hero with kind eyes every success on the diplomatic front, where SWAPO is also forging its victory.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

PROBLEMS OF ALGERIAN EMIGRANTS IN FRANCE DESCRIBED

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[Article by Pavel Kukushkin]

[Text]

The question of Algerian emigrants has long been a bone of contention between Algiers and Paris, particularly in recent years.

The wide use of African labour was an objective consequence of France's colonial policy in the period of her extensive capitalist development. Algerians make up about one-fifth of all the foreign citizens living in France. According to official figures, as of January 1, 1985 the number of Algerian workers together with the other members of their families amounted to about 830,000.<sup>1</sup> An equal number of French colonists and government officials lived in Algeria at the height of French colonial expansion.

The migration to the former colonial power began at the turn of the century. As Lenin wrote at the time, "Capitalism has given rise to a special form of migration of nations. The rapidly developing industrial countries, introducing machinery on a large

scale and ousting the backward countries from the world market, raise wages at home above the average rate and thus attract workers from the backward countries."<sup>2</sup> Colonialism intensified the process even further, having given it compulsory forms.

The plunder of Algeria during her colonial subjugation was of an open nature. The forcible expropriation of land caused an exodus of the population from rural areas. The destruction of the traditional economy and economic ties on a national scale led to the pauperization and the appearance of "redundant" labour, ready to be used in the metropolis.

Beginning in 1905 the colonial authorities pursued a policy of encouraging able-bodied Algerians to emigrate to France to be used there as cheap labour under the most difficult conditions. "The more backward the country," wrote Lenin, "the larger is the number of 'unskilled' agricultural labourers it supplies. The advanced nations seize, as it were, the best paid occupations for themselves..."<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Monde*, Oct. 30-31, 1983.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 454 (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 19, p. 456.

The policy of importing labour from the colony was profitable to Paris for three reasons: it made possible to seize the lands left behind by the emigrants and provided a large pool of labour for the economy along with "cannon fodder" for the army. The steady increase in the number of Algerians in France was interrupted only once, during the "great crisis" of the late 1920s and early 1930s. From 1946 to 1962 emigration from Algeria rose rapidly, reaching 425,000.

After Algeria won its political independence, the principle of free movement between the two countries, set forth in the Evian Agreements, came into force. The Franco-Algerian labour market was, to all practical purposes, integrated. The young republic inherited a tough economic situation from the colonial era and mass unemployment drove Algerians by the thousand to look ways of making a living abroad. Other factors that should also be taken into account are the high rate of population growth in Algeria and the slow rate of labour force growth in France.

In the 1960s, the flow of migrants from Algeria to France peaked. There were nearly a doubling of the Algerian population in the former metropolis, and in the early 1970s their number rose to 700,000. Algerian workers became an integral part of the French work force.

The crisis in the French economy in the late 1960s and early 1970s, growing unemployment, lower appropriations by the state for housing and social programmes, hit emigrants the hardest. This crisis gave rise to racist sentiments and manifestations of xenophobia became part of everyday life.

Foreign workers were hit doubly hard because France's right-wing forces tried to make

them the scapegoats for many of the difficulties brought about by the capitalist crisis. The Paris magazine *Le Monde diplomatique* had this to say on the matter: "Emigrants from Algeria and other Maghrib countries suffer the most from unemployment and they are reproached for having caused it. The primary victims of inflation are also charged with responsibility for that phenomenon, although they have nothing in common with it. Emigrant workers are the victims of the majority of the industrial accidents and they are portrayed as being responsible for the over-crowding of hospitals. The Algerian is denied the housing he wants and refused service in a bar because he is deemed... responsible for the oil crisis. In a society where emigrants are used to ease production costs the crisis exacerbates the plight of cheap labour, exploited in times of 'economic austerity.'"<sup>4</sup>

The crisis in the capitalist economy coincided with a general worsening of Franco-Algerian relations after Algeria nationalised her oil resources. In France people who were nostalgic for the colonial privileges the country had lost, became increasingly vocal. The anti-Algerian campaign reached a dangerous level. Emigrants from the Maghrib became the targets of racist attacks. In the summer of 1973 the situation deteriorated still further and bloody incidents involving Algerians occurred. On September 17, 1973, concerned for the safety of its citizens, Algerian government stopped emigration to France. Speaking in Tebessa President Houari Boumediene said, "We tried to keep silent for a long time but our patience has come to an end. The future of Algerian-French relations depends on the

<sup>4</sup> *Le Monde diplomatique*, September, 1977, p. 18.

safety and dignity of Algerian workers in France."

Algeria's decision was dictated not only by political but also economic considerations. Labour migration is primarily determined by the economic situation while immigration policy is conditioned by the labour market. Back in 1964, France introduced quotas on the number of Algerian workers entering the country each year. In 1968 residence permits and "worker's cards" for emigrants valid for five to ten years were introduced. The Franco-Algerian Convention on Labour provided for the automatic renewal of these documents after their expiration. However in July 1974 the French government closed the borders to foreign workers and granted freedom of labour migration only to citizens of Common Market countries.

In the late 1970s the French authorities actually embarked on a course of cutting back the number of foreigners in the country. The renewal of residence permits was made dependent on the emigrant's employment. As regards Algerian residents in France, that measure, together with a number of others, constituted a violation not only of the principle of free movement written into the Evian accords, but also of the bilateral intergovernmental convention of 1968. During Franco-Algerian talks in December 1979 the Algerian Foreign Minister M. Benyahia categorically rejected the French policy of forcibly repatriating Algerians. In September 1980, in a period which saw a degree of improvement in Franco-Algerian relations, the two sides managed to work out a compromise, whereby Algeria agreed to encourage its citizens to leave France, while the French government agreed to abandon its practice of deporting Algerians.

Conditions had taken shape which made it possible for the Algerian government to start gradually repatriating Algerian workers abroad, who are viewed as an integral part of the nation. Cognizant of the fact that emigrants not only experience the hardships of living in a foreign land but are also the victims of discrimination, the government sees its political task as working out a complex of measures to ensure the systematic repatriation of Algerians and their harmonious re-entry into the economy and social life back home. The National Charter of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria declares, "The return and progressive reintegration of emigrant workers is one of the highest goals of the socialist revolution."

At the same time the Algerian leadership is tackling this problem very realistically and cautiously, taking into account as it does concrete domestic economic and geographic factors.

At present Algeria badly needs skilled workers and technicians for heavy industry and construction. Therefore the country's leaders view labour emigration as a means of training skilled workers and particularly encourages trained workers to return home.

A major obstacle to the mass repatriation of emigrants from France is the housing problem, as well as lingering unemployment. Despite this, the government of Algeria is implementing a programme to help emigrants return home: a certain percentage of jobs are set aside for them, a cooperative home construction programme utilizing the emigrants' money is underway, the repatriants are granted credit and tax privileges when creating various small craft and trade enterprises, they are given plots

of land in rural areas and they enjoy customs privileges<sup>5</sup>.

While working out its policies with regard to emigrants, the Algerian leadership cannot but take into account some positive consequences of having a large contingent of Algerian workers in the former metropolis. Thus, for instance, money transfers by emigrants in France to their families and relatives still constitute an important source of income for tens of thousands of Algerians. This is also one of the channels through which foreign currency enters the country and a means of supporting the state's balance of payments. However, it should be pointed out that the importance of this factor is gradually decreasing. If in the 1960s the annual flow of money from France to Algeria was as high as one thousand million francs, by 1982 it amounted only to 130 million. But there has been a marked increase in the quantity of consumer goods bought by emigrants in France and brought to Algeria. It is also a plus that the presence of hundreds of thousands of able-bodied Algerians in France alleviates the unemployment problem in Algeria.

The French bourgeois press, speculating on Algeria's current problems, says demagogically that the former colony "is exporting the unemployed and getting foreign currency in return". Distorting the true causes of emigration, right-wing propaganda presents them as proof of the inability of the Algerian leadership to solve the socio-economic problems facing the country. The bourgeois press keeps silent about the responsibility French colonialism bears for the

migration of labour from the dependent countries, and especially from the Maghrib region. Rightwing parties in France are trying to hide from the public the real gains the French economy has made due to the exploitation of Algerian workers. The overwhelming majority of Algerians are employed in the most difficult, dangerous and unprestigious jobs which the French, even those without jobs, refuse to take as a rule.

The French government and employers save on wages and social benefits for emigrant workers. The most heavily exploited are the seasonal agricultural workers and so-called "underground" emigrants, who are paid wages below the state-guaranteed minimum. The majority of Algerian workers in France live in housing that does not meet officially accepted sanitary and hygienic standards, while those dwelling in hotels and boarding-houses are made to pay exorbitant rents. The incidence of occupational illnesses and injuries sustained in the workplace is, on average, twice as high among Algerians as among French. Difficult working and living conditions affect the Algerian workers' physical and mental health. The atmosphere of discrimination and insults to their human dignity and the excesses of fascist racists boost the number of mental illnesses suffered by emigrants.

As crises mount the bourgeoisie strives to divide and alienate different groups of the working people in order to weaken their common struggle for their rights. Racism is used by right-wing forces to further their class interests. Their formula "immigration-unemployment-crime" is working. Working despite the facts. What is more, the "emigrant problem" is a profitable campaign theme for the ultra right in France, and in particular for the

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<sup>5</sup> *Revolution Africaine*, April 11-17, 1979, p. 10.

National Front, headed by a rabid anti-Communist, Jean-Marie Le Pen, who makes no bones about his racist views.

Among the acute problems connected with Algerians in France there has appeared in recent years a new and rather complex one, the problem of the "second generation emigrant". At present there are over 300,000 Algerians who were born in France after January 1, 1963. Young Algerians find it especially difficult to adapt to conditions in modern France. Getting a job is harder for them, if not totally impossible than for their parents. Drawn into a complex process of cultural and linguistic assimilation, they find themselves divorced from the Arab-Moslem culture of their native land. Although they consider themselves Algerians, the majority do not understand Arabic and have fairly vague and at times distorted ideas about their native country. Their inevitable acquaintance with some of the dubious values of the Western world tends to deform the world outlook of Arab youngsters. Their instinctive protest against this society, which turns its back on them, sometimes manifests itself in acute conflicts.

In its policy towards the second generation of emigrants the Algerian leadership seeks to help them maintain cultural and linguistic ties with the country of their fathers in order to save them from the risk of depersonalization. Particular efforts are made to organise courses in Arabic for Arab youth in France as well as vocational training. Summer programmes, i. e., special courses in Islamic culture are

offered in Algeria for young emigrants, and summer camps are held in coastal areas. Together with activists from the National Union of Algerian Youth, guests from France are invited to do voluntary work on cooperative farms.

Up until recently there was a great deal of friction between Algeria and France over the civil status of Algerians born in the former metropolis after Algeria became independent. In accordance with French law they automatically became French citizens upon coming of age. The majority, however, wished to retain their Algerian citizenship. Algerian law does not recognise dual citizenship. Young people of conscription age face special difficulties being called-up in both France and Algeria. Now this category of Algerians have received the right to choose where they will do their military service, and those who opt to serve in France do not lose their Algerian citizenship.

That the number of Algerian labourers living in France is declining is already apparent. From 1975 to 1983 about 80,000 Algerians returned home for good. The reduction in the size of the Algerian colony in France is especially noticeable when compared with the 15 per cent growth over the same period in the number of foreigners in France, including the 10 per cent growth in the number of emigrants from Morocco and Tunisia.

The solution of the problem of Algerian workers in France will depend on the success of Algeria's economic and social development as it follows the road of socialist orientation.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### PROBLEMS, OUTLOOK FOR WORLD POPULATION GROWTH SURVEYED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 70-71

[Report by Svetlana Bestuzheva: "The World Population: Problems and Prospects"]

[Text]

Every aspect of population growth has been attracting the attention of many scholars—population experts, economists, sociologists—during recent decades. Throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s the world population grew at a rapid pace. While it took 120 years (1810-1930) for the world population to grow from one billion to two, its further growth proceeded as follows: three billion people in 1960, four billion in 1975, and five billion in 1985. There will be over six billion people on Earth by the year 2000, according to the latest predictions.

The complexity of this problem does not consist in the rapid increase in numbers alone, however. In most of the European countries and in North America the population growth has, in fact, decreased; in some it stands at zero. Depopulation, i.e., the predominance of deaths over births, is observed in some West European countries: West Germany, Austria, Britain, etc. Meanwhile, the population of the developing countries continues to grow rapidly. In 1950, of the 2.5 billion people inhabiting the world, Europe, North America, the USSR, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, taken together, accounted for 800 million people, while the rest of the world accounted for 1.7 billion; in other words, the proportion between the two groups of countries was 1 to 2. By 1985 it changed to 1 to 3. Even if the world population stabilises at 13.5 billion, at the least, by the middle of the 22nd century, as UN demographers contend, the gap between the two groups of countries will be 1 to 6.

Is the population explosion a catastrophe or a law-governed process? That was the theme of the First World Population Conference held in 1974 in Bucharest. The same question was discussed directly and indirectly by the Second World Conference held in Mexico City in August 1984. While in Bucharest attention was primarily focussed on understanding the demographic situation and the steps that needed to be taken were only outlined in the most general

way, in Mexico City the results of the work undertaken during the foregoing decade were summed up. On the basis of the experience accumulated in that time, quite specific demographic policies were suggested for the different regions of the world, based on their level of socio-economic development.

Today experts can easily make predictions for the year 2100, to say nothing of 2025, using most variegated methods. The data on which they base their forecasts is no longer confined to the events of the past and present. Their predictions take into account the maximum sum-total of factors that could influence the population, both increasing and decreasing it.

The birth rate is the prime factor on which population growth directly depends. Over the past ten years, the birth rate has decreased, on average, by 17 per cent worldwide and by 19 per cent in the developing countries. Averages do not always reflect the true situation, however. The average number of children born by a female of a child-bearing age is 6.3 in Bangladesh, 4.7 in India, 1.8 in the US, and 1.6 in Europe. It is common knowledge that 2.2 or 2.3 children per woman is the optimal figure for any country, as it keeps the population stable or increases it slightly. Therefore, it follows that the industrialised countries should encourage childbirth, while the developing ones should limit it. However, the opposite process is taking place in reality and this is making the situation worse. It is hard to say, what is more difficult: to talk a European woman into bearing children or, say, an Indian into not doing so. Moreover, in Europe the generation born in the first half of the 1960s which is now reaching the ideal child-bearing age is numerically small. The shrinking size of the population and its ageing is the problem facing the industrialised states, while the developing countries are faced with the opposite problem—that of the quick growth and rejuvenation of their populations. The latter problem is no less serious than the former.

Mortality (child mortality in particular) is another factor that has a considerable effect on population growth. During the first years following World War II, mortality decreased in most of the developing countries, a phenomenon which could be explained by the extensive use of imported medicines, unknown there before.

The elimination of large centres of epidemics has lowered (in unprecedented proportions) the number of infectious and parasitical diseases which were very often lethal, especially for children. On the average, the world death rate fell from 19.7 for every 1,000 persons in the period 1950-1955 to 10.6 in the period 1980-1985. This decline could not last for ever, though, and in recent years it has slowed down greatly, or perhaps stopped altogether. A further decrease in the mortality rate seems possible now only if expensive measures are taken, such as systematically vaccinating entire populations, cleaning up the environment, procuring normal drinking water and balanced nourishment, etc. The implementation of a comprehensive programme of this kind has not yet been within reach of any young country.

The problem of child mortality, particularly among children under one year of age has been the focus of attention for medics, population experts and sociologists. There is direct link between this problem and the birth rate, for it has been discovered that the more children die in a country, the more are born, and vice versa. Child mortality figures differ greatly for various parts of the world. In the industrialised countries, an average of 17 out of every 1,000 babies die before they reach one year of age while the figure for the developing countries is 92; moreover, for 26 these countries this figure exceeds 120 and for the most backward it is 200.

Another typical feature of today's demographic situation which was also noted at the conference in Mexico City, is that many newly-free countries have, in the last decade, entered a stage of "demographic transition" toward a new type of population reproduction—from a high birth-and-mortality rate toward a lower one. This transition has been observed in very few young states, however. The process has not yet touched most of the population of Africa, nor the Asian states of Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, Butan or Nepal; nor has it affected the oil-producing Arab countries. The birth rate a country possesses depends on the stage it is at in its "demographic transition". For the countries that have entered the "transitional stage", the decline in the birth rate is quite evident; while for the rest of the developing countries it remains at practically the same level: its slight decline is almost fully compensated for by a lower mortality rate. For this reason, it had become clear by the early 1980s that if this demographic trend were to continue, the population of the countries not at the "transition stage" alone would soon be equal to that of all the industrialised states taken together. The following prognoses concerning population distribution in 1985 were presented at the Mexico City Conference: the world population would number 4,826 million, of which 1,170 million would live in the industrialised states; 1,695 million would be in the young countries at the "transition stage" and 901 million in those not at this stage. The population of China would number 1,060 million.

There are few people in the developing countries at present who deem it possible to lower the rate of population growth without taking the rates of socio-economic development into account. Although the cause-effect relationship between these two processes is recognised, attempts are still made to ignore it. The view is prevalent in some countries that the masses' standard of living can be raised and the birth rate greatly reduced solely through intensive improvement of, say, the educational system. The proponents of this view overlook the fact that a country should reach a certain level of economic development before universal primary education, at the very least, can be provided.

The urbanisation problem is looming ever larger at present. The consequences of the "population explosion" have been more tangibly felt in the cities, the population of which grows with the inflow of people from the country, as well as due to natural increase. The process of urbanisation is practically complete in many industrialised states. There,

about 75 per cent of the population lives in urban areas. Experts believe that by 2000 this number will reach 80 per cent and, most likely, stabilise at this level. In the developing countries, however, 57 per cent of the population still lives in rural areas, and for some of them this index is considerably higher—about 75 per cent for Tropical Africa, India and China. By the end of the century, urbanisation will reach 51 per cent in these countries and continue from there, which is certain to aggravate the relevant socio-economic problems still further.

The number of big cities has been growing non-stop: in 1950 there were only two cities in the world with populations of 10 million, namely New York and London. Today there are 13, of which Tokyo has the largest population, approximately 12 million. It is predicted that by the year 2000 there will be 25 cities with populations of 10 million or more, of which Mexico City, São-Paulo and Shanghai will be the biggest. The very fact of the megalopolises multiplication is impressive enough, but the growth of their populations is more impressive still. All the experts are sure, for example, that by the end of this century Mexico City will have a population of 30 million, which is unprecedented in demographic history.

The Mexican government regards these prognoses rather sceptically but it is nevertheless taking concrete action to ensure that the city's infrastructure can meet the needs of the growing tide of new inhabitants.

The process of urbanisation is of greater importance for small and medium-sized urban centres than it is for big ones. Over the last five years, for example, the populations of cities of over 40,000 (in the developing countries) have been growing, on the average, by 9 per cent annually, which can be compared to the 2-per-cent annual increase in the newly-free countries that has resulted from the population explosion. These figures eloquently speak of the scope of urbanisation and the place migration occupies in that process.

As for international migration, this problem has become especially acute of late due to the growing discrepancy between the rich and poor countries. In this respect, population problems turn out to be connected with the political refugee problem, growth of unemployment, etc. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees noted in his report at the Mexico City Conference that at present about 10 million people are forced to live outside their home countries for political, economic and social reasons. The people of Palestine find themselves in the most desperate situation, as half of the Palestinians live on the territories occupied by Israel, while the remaining 2.5 million live in other countries as refugees. The refugee problem is also quite serious in Eastern Asia, Africa and Central America.

The International Organisation of Labour directs public attention to the problem of migrant workers: according to data provided by this organisation, about 400 million people in the newly-free countries either have no jobs or are employed part-time.

This notwithstanding, the prognoses some population experts and public figures in the West make seem too pessimistic and are not corroborated by facts.

It is common knowledge that family planning is beginning to demonstrate results, even in such countries as India and Mexico, where it is very difficult to implement. Similar policies are being pursued in the countries where 80 per cent of the Earth's population live.

Urgent social reforms that take into account the specific conditions in any individual country, play a great part in solving the population problem.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### ECONOMIC ASPECT OF SMALL FIRMS IN DEVELOPING STATES ASSESSED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 82-84

[Article by Alexei Tkachenko]

[Text]

**A**t the start of the 1980s, as the key problems of the world capitalist system grew even more acute, many Asian and African countries found themselves in need of a clearer definition of the directions their economic development could take. Elaborating their long-term economic strategies, the young states began to attach greater and greater significance to more energetic entrepreneurial activity on the part of small and medium-sized firms. This approach—which in no way replaces other methods of economic modernisation or rules out reliance on big business—is bound to create additional opportunities for the solution of the complex tasks facing the newly-independent countries today. The latter universally recognise that the bulk of small companies, which differ radically among themselves in terms of their abilities, aims, functions and manner of production, are less an inalienable component of recent economic development in Asia and Africa, than a highly important factor promoting their future industrialisation. (In examining the activities of small firms in national economies, I have omitted economic practices in the agrarian sector).

The growing interest in small companies which adopt the modern economic experience of capitalism is the result of numerous intertwined causes and circumstances, taken together.

These circumstances include the internationally increasing specialisation of production, the presence of serious socio-economic conflicts within the young states, and, finally, the role the non-monopolistic sector plays in the national economies and socio-political life of these states. In spite of the progress towards concentration of production and capital and the existence of the monopoly stratum, small firms in Asia and Africa today account for approximately 40 to 50 per cent of the GNP, and, what is more, for the overwhelming majority of all hired labour—from 75 to 80 per cent of the population gainfully employed in national economies.

The economic impact of small and medium-sized enterprises is especially pronounced on the level of separate branches of industry. According to a series of surveys, small and medium-sized businesses in Thailand control 13 out of 20 major areas of material production. Events in recent years have convincingly shown that the developing countries cannot solve a single problem, even partially, if the economic potential of small firms is not tapped. That is why current industrialisation strategies in many Asian and African states envisage, along with government support of large companies, creation of new groups of small and medium-sized businesses. The role of the small industries in developing na-

tional economies and the need for government assistance in promoting this sector—as is noted in the UN ECOSOC report on countries of Asia and the Pacific—are now universally recognised among the developing nations.

In several Asian states the work governments do along this line is truly increasing in scope. For instance, Malaysia is planning to set up from 2,000 to 2,500 specialised small businesses with the direct assistance of government agencies between 1984 and 1988. These firms will operate in both traditional and modern sectors of the national industry. Indonesia, for its part, has worked out plans for the country's socio-economic development which envisage a rise in the contribution small companies make to the aggregate output of the entire manufacturing industry—from 15 per cent in 1984 to 50 per cent in 1995. The further development of productive forces, accelerated capital accumulation, the setting up of specialised markets, and the expansion of consumer demands put more requirements for the existing structure of production on the agenda and triggered certain changes not only in terms of quantitative growth but also in the quality of small firms. To this end, many Asian and African countries have adopted programmes for the modernisation of small businesses, in keeping with them small firms are given financial support by government agencies. The volume of this support is constantly on the rise. In India, for example, between 1949 and 1954 50 million rupees were allocated for small-firm-modernisation programmes, while during the period 1978-1983, this sum reached 34 billion rupees. Many agencies such as the State Financial Corporation, the national and local corporations for small industry assistance, and the Reserve Bank of India help finance small firms and extend them credit.

In recent years, the simplification of the procedure for granting credits, short-term and long-term loans at easy interest rates, has become a salient feature of this activity.

An analysis of state strategies for encouraging non-monopoly sectors makes it entirely clear that they aim to bring the two poles of the production structure—large and small companies—closer together and complement them. The raising of the technological level of small firms and the introduction of advanced production management techniques meet the objectives of the ruling strata, which wish to encourage a domestic subcontractual system. Production relations based on the subcontract system are perhaps most widely developed in India. There, small firms, relying in many cases on the organisational and technical support of government agencies, increased their product deliveries to the country's big corporations from 257 million rupees to 1.5 billion rupees between 1970 and 1979 alone.

In our time, given the increased specialisation of production internationally, establishment of closer and more flexible cooperation ties between big and small businesses is a necessary condition for boosting the efficiency of the newly-independent countries' economies and for making their products more competitive on the world market. This idea is convincingly proved by India's example. There, small firms sell semi-finished products they manufacture not only at the home market but also abroad. Federal Republic of Germany, for one, extensively imports separate units and parts of Indian make.

Like the majority of Western industrialised states, many African and Asian countries are now making attempts to intensify the search for the best correlation between small and large-scale serial production, using government support for small and medium-sized enterprise. Such a correlation must, on the one hand, preserve the foundations of monopoly domination, and on the other, reduce production costs, boost the investment efforts of small and medium-sized businesses, and normalise the social reproduction as a whole. Government support for all groups of small companies is needed to achieve the desired goal—both for those involved in

the subcontractual system of big corporations and those pursuing relatively independent commercial policies.

The measures taken to encourage small and medium-sized firms by governments suggest the idea that the latter are working increasingly towards the gradual elimination of multistructural national economies and the speedy creation of a uniform system of production relations. At the same time, the functions of the non-monopoly sector are not confined to the solution of these tasks alone. The production flexibility and economic mobility that numerous small companies offer are used extensively in Asia and Africa to solve social problems and ease mounting tension between labour and capital.

The intensified commercial activity of small firms is linked directly with the goal of reducing unemployment on the periphery of the world capitalist system. In the Philippines, for example between 1978 and 1982, small and medium-sized companies created about one million jobs. The important role that small business has to play in increasing employment is recognised in Malaysia's fourth socio-economic development plan for 1981-1985. Nonetheless, small companies are not capable of fighting alone such a major calamity as mass unemployment.

To realise how pressing the problem of employment is in the developing world today, let us consider India, where the total number of those on labour exchange list is over 20 million, with 1.5 million of them having a higher education. By excluding a sizable portion of the population from the work process, unemployment brings considerable material losses to developing countries.

The definite increase that has occurred in the social role of the non-monopoly sector has two basic causes. First, small companies, regardless of their concrete sphere of economic activity, have now become the primary consumer of hired labour. Second, it is much less expensive to create a job in a small business, than in a large one. Relevant estimates, based on data from Indian companies, show that the

average wage in small firms is only 87 per cent of that in the monopoly sector. This gap can be further widened if the lower capital intensity of job creation in small firms is taken into account. For instance, the expenditures of a small Indonesian industrial firm do not normally exceed \$500, while for big corporations they may at times be as high as \$50,000. The lower volume of capital investment needed to create jobs facilitates the profitability of small firms in many ways. The results of several surveys conducted in small Indian firms reveal that their rate of profit is 13 percentage points higher than is that of the monopolies.

In encouraging the creation of small firms in the provinces, governments in Asia and Africa are thereby trying to distribute national productive capacities more evenly. Implementation of these measures has become an absolute necessity for these countries. In Thailand, for example, 47 per cent of all operating industrial enterprises are concentrated in Bangkok, whereas in many outlying regions of the country there are practically no productive capacities whatever. Events in recent years have irrefutably proved that the existing territorial system of resources distribution has a most powerful effect on many aspects of socio-economic development in Asian and African countries.

To achieve fuller and more effective employment of local manpower and utilisation of material resources, many young states have set about creating a network of regional centres for the development of small industry. There are already 12 such centres in the Philippines. In the early 1980s, new regional agencies Chiang Mai, Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Sougkla-Hoad Yai and Chonburi began operating in Thailand. All of these organisations are instructed to assist local small and medium-sized businesses in the areas of crediting, management, consultations, marketing and hiring workforce. Increased activity on the part of small firms in the newly-free countries is now associated in

many respects with a levelling out of the rate of socio-economic development in individual geographical regions.

Analysing relations between the state machinery and small and medium-sized enterprise, it should be emphasised that the petty bourgeoisie sometimes politically influences the ways the problems facing Asia and Africa are tackled. In India, for example, the interests of the Hindu petty bourgeoisie community are represented by the Bharatiya Janata Party and corresponding groupings in the National Association of Manufacturers.

To some extent, the position the petty bourgeoisie adopt affects the outcome of political campaigns sponsored by different parties in the developing countries. At the same time, as several Asian and African states have reason to believe, the relatively influential petty-bourgeois parties enable political pressure brought to bear by monopoly circles and arising from the increasing concentration of production to be restricted somewhat. All this cannot be ignored by the ruling quarters, which see the non-monopoly sector as a real force not only within the domestic market and in home affairs, but in the sphere of foreign economic ties.

Given the growing internationalisation of economic affairs and the continuing involvement of the developing states in the system of capitalist labour division, the solution of domestic socio-economic issues is becoming increasingly dependent on the vitality of national private capital in the area of exports. This interdependence is especially clearly felt if one considers some of the Southeast Asian states' energetic penetration of foreign markets. In Singapore, the Philippines, Hongkong, Thailand and South Korea every million dollars they earn abroad enables them to create at least 50,000-60,000 jobs.

One may also judge about the real effect small and medium-sized businesses have on domestic social situations by the scale of their export transactions. In Taiwan, for instance,

these businesses account for 70 per cent of the aggregate volume of products sold on the world market. In India small companies account for 40 per cent of non-traditional commodity exports, while in money terms the aggregate value of the commodities exported by small and medium-sized enterprises equalled some \$1 billion to 1.2 billion at the beginning of the 1980s. That the non-monopoly sector makes such a weighty contribution is due to the fairly large share it accounts for in industrial products (against nationwide production as a whole) which are sold to foreign customers. The small companies in Hongkong and South Korea account for 37 per cent of these products, an amount sufficient to provide jobs for tens of thousands of people, thereby easing social tension somewhat.

In some developing countries small firms participate more actively in the international division of labour than large corporations do. This is particularly true of Thailand where small firms export 27 per cent of their total output, whereas the figure for big ones is a mere 15 per cent. If we consider commodity exports of the non-monopoly sector in several Southeast Asian states, we find that it was precisely this sphere that largely determined the scope of their foreign economic expansion. In South Korea, for example, the volume of annual export deliveries by small companies skyrocketed from \$16 million to almost \$3 billion in the period 1963-1976. It is worth noting that although small and medium-sized enterprise is quite often neglected by theoretical studies, it has, in reality, played an important role in creating the very phenomenon of a "newly industrialised nation".

While taking the production and foreign trade capabilities of small firms into account, Southeast Asian states are working towards the specialisation of their economies. In accordance with the adopted programmes, in the 1980s, South Korea is now focusing mainly on the production of semiconductors, computers, and highly-processed chemicals, Taiwan on precision and electrical equipment,

automated assembly lines, Singapore on medical equipment, automatic machine-tools and minicomputers. A large share of the products manufactured are earmarked for marketing in the industrialised capitalist states.

The methods of expanding foreign trade utilised by small companies in the developing world include production-cooperation ties with foreign firms and mixed enterprises set up with them. The latter are in many instances organised to penetrate the third countries' markets selling specific goods. For example, the joint venture on which the Singapore-based Yutope Air company and the Japanese Air Tech firm have embarked has as its primary aim the marketing of products largely in the US and West European countries. Similar attempts have been made by Hongkong's small firms, which by early 1983 had, together with foreign companies created 163 manufacturing enterprises employing 10,500 people. It is important to stress that, as in industry as a whole, in metal-working, machine-building and electric engineering small firms outstrip big Singapore companies in the number of firms created with the help of foreign investors.

Small and medium-sized businesses are gradually acquiring a more prominent place in the process of technology exchange between the industrialised and developing countries. The interest Western partners display in such plans naturally stems not from their unselfish concern but rather from the desire the West has to increase the periphery's technological dependence on the world capitalist economy.

Parallel to the emergence of new forms of borrowing Western technology, developing countries continue to

purchase the needed knowledge in the form of licences and know-how. However, while the import of technology is nothing new in the field of scientific endeavour, the emergence of "venture capital" can, without a doubt, be considered the latest and most spectacular development in this area. Having originated in the US and later proliferated in Western Europe and Japan, "venture capital" phenomenon is gradually becoming widespread in South Korea and Singapore.

The appearance in several Southeast Asian countries of a dynamic, though limited, number of small firms involved in technical projects testifies to the emergence of new types of influence the non-monopoly sector is having on the solution of socio-economic problems. The nature of the division of social labour itself and the greater specialisation of scientific research help raise the volume of the output of small and medium-sized firms in young nations.

Of course this conclusion does not mean that small firms can be regarded as a sort of cure-all. Even most active utilisation of the economic potential of small and medium-sized businesses will not help to break ultimately the vicious antagonistic circle engendered by the capitalist way of production. In imitating, in many instances, the practices of Western industrialised countries in enlisting the non-monopoly sector to help solve concrete socio-economic problems, the capitalist-oriented Asian and African countries inevitably encounter new difficulties and contradictions. Such is the genesis of capitalism, no matter what phase in its development it is at. The implementation of major democratic and socio-economic reforms is the only way out of the present situation for the newly-free states.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

CAUSES, EFFECTS OF U.S. ECONOMIC ILLS ASSESSED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by V. Rymalov, doctor of economic sciences, professor: "In the Center of Deep-Seated Contradictions: Comments on the U.S. Economy"]

[Text] The economic chronicle of the United States has recently been replete with mentions of thickening storm clouds. The distressing indicators of statistics have been causing feverish actions at the stock exchange. On the countrywide scale, the economic growth rate in the second quarter, in the annual computation, was one of the most depressive in the past three-year period and came to 0.6 percent. But at the beginning of the third quarter, in July, the orders "portfolios" of the American monopolies increased by 2.2 percent, with military orders increasing by almost 45 percent, at a time when, in the civilian branches, it was only 0.5 percent.

Today's stagnant phenomena in the U.S. national economy are by no means accidental. They are deeply rooted in the country's previous economic development.

As is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Program, the conflict between the gigantically increased productive forces and capitalist production relations is becoming more and more acute. There has been an intensification of the inner instability of the economy. This is expressed in the slowing down of the overall rates in economic growth, and in the intertwining and deepening of the cyclical and structural crises. These processes are also typical of the American economy, where, as of now, more than a third of the total output of commodities and services produced in all the capitalist countries are being created.

The final picture of the 1980's has not yet developed completely. It was precisely during the first six years of the current decade, five of which represent the time when the present U.S. administration has been in power, that one has seen a clearly defined tendency toward a slowdown in the growth of the basic economic indicators in the United States. Testimony to this is provided by the statistical data in the recent President's Economic Report to the U.S. Congress.

From the table it can be seen that the growth rates for the country gross national product [GNP] in 1980-1985 were one-third less than during the preceding six-year period, and one-half the growth rates in 1960-1973.

U.S. Average Annual Economic Growth Rates (in percentages)

	1960-1973	1974-1979	1980-1985
GNP	4.0	2.6	1.8
Industry	5.1	2.7	2.0
Services sphere	4.4	3.3	1.8

The final GNP indicators, undoubtedly, conceal a tremendous and constantly intensifying unevenness in the development of individual spheres and branches, the structure of which in recent years has been marked with noticeable changes. But even with a consideration of this factor, one can speak about the further worsening of the conditions for expanded reproduction on the scale of the entire U.S. national economy.

Industry continues to be the decisive cycle-forming sphere, where the periodic crises in the overproduction of the capitalist economy are born and formed. In 1980-1985, as compared with the previous six-year period, the growth rates dropped in processing industry by approximately one-third, and in extractive industry, by two-thirds.

From the beginning of the postwar period through the end of the past decade, the United States experienced six recessions. Two of them occurred in the 1970's. It was precisely those recessions, and especially the most severe depression in the postwar period -- the one in 1974-1975 -- that exerted the primary influence upon the formation in the United States during that period of a tendency toward a slowing down in the overall economic growth rates. In the 1980's that tendency became even more intensified.

The present U.S. managers stubbornly attempt to consolidate the myth concerning prosperous "Reaganomics." But in actuality it is by no means everything that has developed so favorably. The beginning of the current ten-year period was an extremely difficult period. During the first three years in that period, the country's gross production was in a state of depression-like stagnation and recession. True, the year 1981 seemingly began to promise a change for the better. In the very beginning of 1982, in the president's State of the Union message to the Congress, it was announced that the basic reasons for the recession, which had allegedly been caused by the "erroneous policy" of the previous administration, had been successfully overcome. The forecast stipulated for that year an increase of 3 percent in the GNP. Despite these predictions, the real volume of the GNP in the United States actually dropped in 1982 by 2.5 percent, or in per-capita terms by almost 3.5 percent. Such a drop in the annual level of gross output had not been observed in any of the previous postwar crises. Although a certain recovery

began subsequently, the GNP per capita of population in 1983 still remained below the precrisis 1979. Consequently, over a four-year period the U.S. economy remained under the pressure of a crisis situation.

Following a crisis phase and recovery in the capitalist economy, a cyclical upsurge usually occurs. That upsurge also began this time. The year 1984 was marked by a spasmodic increase in production in most of the branches. And so the administration began again to paint the rosy future of Reaganomics.

However, in 1985 the increase in the country's GNP was considerably less than that which was forecast, and was only one-third of what it had been in 1984. Events also developed in the same direction during the first half of the current year. The most recent cyclical upsurge actually proved to be one of the most unstable ones in the postwar history of the United States. The continuing sharp upsurge in the military industry was incapable of preventing the action of the long-term tendency toward a slowdown in the rates.

The collapse of the strategic plans of the U.S. ruling circles to have the "locomotive" of the arms race provide an impetus for the entire American economy is becoming obvious. The unrestrained militarization in the final analysis has been leading to directly opposite results. According to recently published official data, the actual volume of the country's gross industrial production in the middle of 1986 was lower than the corresponding level in the middle of last year. It is no accident that prominent agencies in U.S. business affairs have been noting with increasing alarm that the arrow on the country's economic barometer is beginning to move away from an increase toward the next recession.

Thus, the Reagan administration demonstrates the insolvency of its attempts to "bridle," by using methods of state-monopoly regulation, the objective course of the cyclical movement of the capitalist economy.

An extremely strained situation also developed in the country's agriculture in the 1980's. In agriculture, as the president's economic advisers were forced to state, the activity of the present administration has led "to substantial economic distortions and has demonstrated its ineffectiveness." The farmers' debts have reached unprecedented dimensions.

Reaganomics has brought a large number of other similar "records." They include the gigantic increase in the deficit of the country's federal budget. During the term in office of the present administration alone, that deficit has increased by many times. True, the administration keeps promising that in the future it will somewhat reduce the budgetary deficit, but chiefly by sharply reducing appropriations for the public's social needs. But it is planned to continue building up the military expenses. Thus, militarism and the arms race will lie as an even heavier weight on the U.S. economy.

The state debt has also reached a qualitatively higher level. The indebtedness of the federal government in 1986 reached the astronomical figure of more than \$2 trillion. For purposes of comparison, we might note that

during the first postwar years it came to approximately a quarter of a trillion dollars. At the present time this indebtedness is almost half the country's GNP.

The administration gives propagandistic assurances that its policy has brought blessings "to absolutely all American citizens." But the statistical data assert something else. During the past six years alone, the net income of the owners of U. S. nonfinancial corporations increased by approximately three-fourths, whereas the real weekly earnings of workers and employees on the average during the same years decreased by 7-8 percent as compared with the end of the past ten-year period. At the same time the unemployment rate is taking on threatening dimensions. In 1982-1983 the number of persons completely unemployed reached, according to official data alone, record figures for the country's entire postwar period, coming to 10.6-10.7 million persons, or 9.5 percent of the country's total manpower. At the present time the number of persons completely unemployed surpasses by average level in the 1970's by a factor of almost 1.5.

The 1980's are passing under the sign of the extreme aggravation of the foreign-economic problems of the United States. There has been an unprecedented drop in the competitiveness of America's export output. At the same time there has been a rapid increase in the aggravating effect of Reaganomics upon crisis phenomena in the present-day world capitalist economy. That effect has been intensifying the destabilization of the entire system of the West's economic and currency-financial interrelationships.

At the same time, while retaining control over many of the important heights in the present-day world capitalist economy, the United States still has a real opportunity for transferring a considerable part of the crisis problems to its basic competitors -- the West European countries and Japan -- and especially to the developing countries. But this policy is increasingly encountering the active resistance of the countries that are the victims of U.S. expansion.

In general, the striving of the most reactionary and aggressive circles of American monopoly capital to find a way out of the difficulties that have been building up like an avalanche on the paths of the further offensive against the workers' standard of living, and the senseless arms race and the conversion of the United States into the chief bulwark of the forces of imperialism, is only aggravating those difficulties. As a result there has been an even greater exacerbation of the crisis in the system of modern state-monopoly capitalism, with all the terrible economic and social consequences that ensue for that system.

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WESTERN EUROPE

RECENT ACTIONS OF FRENCH PARLIAMENT ASSESSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 86 p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Kovalenko under the rubric "Letter from Paris": "The Fruits of 'Liberalization'"]

[Text] The French Parliament has been in session for four and a half months. On the second of April, two weeks after the elections in which the rightist party triumphed, the first session of the new National Assembly opened. It ended on June 30, and on the following day, insofar as the deputies had been unable to consider all of the legislation submitted, an extraordinary session began that continued into the middle of August.

The government wanted to carry out as fast as possible the principal legislation reflecting the essence of the pre-election program of the right, and therefore the deputies and senators had to postpone the traditional summer holiday and, along with daytime sessions, hold nighttime ones as well. Striving to accelerate the implementation of the program, the cabinet decided to act in the social and economic sphere with the aid of ordinances--decrees that are not discussed and not ratified by the National Assembly. Thus, the role of the Parliament was sharply limited from the very beginning.

The government counted on a "liberalization" of the economy, which is here understood to mean a reduction in the role of the state and a reinforcement of the position of private capital. Its cornerstone was a law on the privatization of 65 industrial enterprises, banks and insurance companies, which the newspaper LE MONDE considered "a dangerous economic escapade." Companies making up the backbone of French industry are being transferred into private hands--Rhone-Poulenc, ELF-Aquitaine, Pechiney, Thomson, Matra, Saint-Gobain and others. Among them are firms that were placed under state control both during the rule of the preceding socialist government and still others under General de Gaulle in the first postwar years.

The rulers intended to carry out the privatization through an ordinance which takes effect after signing by the head of state. But F. Mitterrand refused to sign it, declaring that he could not allow national property essential for the independence of the country to be sold off and fall under foreign control. Thus arose the first serious conflict between the rightist government and the socialist president.

Then the cabinet, having converted the ordinance into legislation, submitted it to Parliament for consideration. A debate did not take place, however, since the prime minister resorted to a procedure that links the adoption of the law with a vote of confidence in the government. With a majority at their disposal, the deputies of the rightist parties were able to postpone any resolution of no-confidence introduced by the opposition, after which the law is considered enacted automatically. The government repeatedly resorted to this anti-democratic procedure, which makes it possible to avoid debate on this or that issue and deprives the parliamentarians the opportunity to introduce amendments to the documents adopted.

During the first and extraordinary parliamentary sessions, a number of laws serving the interests of big capital were ratified. These were in particular a law that repealed administrative control over the dismissal of laborers and employees and granted the owners of enterprises a completely free hand, as well as an ordinance that eased the concluding of temporary labor agreements and the shifting of employees to a partial workday. In the name of "reviving" the economy, control over prices and the supplemental tax on major estates were repealed and an amnesty for people who were guilty of illegal removal of capital from the country was announced. The government, stated J. Chirac, "is burning bridges" and does not intend to return to price controls.

An offensive is underway against the social gains of the workers: a reform in the social welfare system is projected, out of the funds of which expenses for medical treatment are often covered and pensions are paid. Benefits for large families are being reduced. The rulers have begun to reform the housing legislation, envisaging the removal of limitations on rent increases.

The right has taken aim at the civil rights and freedoms of Frenchmen. Under the pretext of a battle against terrorism and crime, steps are being taken to expand police and judicial powers and to make the corresponding legislation more strict. The police have received additional "rights" to detain citizens and conduct searches and raids. After the announcement by the rulers that they will cover the "mistakes" of the police, in recent weeks these guardians of the law have repeatedly exceeded their authority, and innocent people have become the victims of reprisals.

The consideration of two pieces of legislation on the privatization of the state TF-1 television channel and the press occupied a special place in the parliamentary session. The government, in spite of the protests of society (three quarters of Frenchmen are against this measure) and leading cultural and art figures, decided to turn it over to private hands nonetheless. "TF-1 loves you," says the advertising of this television station, apropos of which one of the capital's newspapers noted spitefully that "Robert Hersant (a leading newspaper magnate--Yu. K.) loves TF-1." Today he is among the chief candidates for its acquisition. The law on the press approved by the parliament envisages the removal of limitations on monopoly in periodicals publishing and, as columnists note, this is a "gift" to R. Hersant, whose newspaper empire is a pillar of support for the right.

Finally, a law was ratified to reform the electoral system that envisages the replacement of the proportional voting system in a single round, introduced by the socialists, with the previously existing majority one in two rounds. Its goal is to ensure a solid majority for the rightist parties and prevent the election of communists. The voting districts are currently being redrawn so as to create the maximum favorable conditions for the candidates of the right in subsequent elections.

How have the laws approved by the rightist majority in the parliament, the ratified ordinances and the steps taken by the government affected the economic state of France? What are the fruits of "liberalization"? It should be recalled that the right came to power under favorable world economic market conditions--prices for oil declined, the dollar exchange rate fell and inflation declined. The program of the rightist forces has still not had the anticipated effect, however. In the opinion of many columnists, the results of their rule are disappointing.

The British newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES feels that the French have every reason to feel embarrassment with regard to the state of the economy. The influential bourgeois newspaper supports this thesis with a series of facts: the enormous trade deficit, the strengthening of the penetration of foreign capital into the internal market, which controls a third of French production, and the poor world competitiveness of many sectors of industry. Noting the increase in the profits of corporations, the newspaper points out that they were achieved through restraint in wage growth and a reduction in the number of workers.

This pessimistic evaluation of the economic state of France is shared by many specialists and observers on the banks of the Seine. "The amount of investment is treading water, employment is falling and growth rates are insignificant," said Minister of Economy, Finance and Privatization E. Balladur "himself" in an appearance before the National Assembly. The French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Research recently noted that a trend toward growth in unemployment is continuing in the country: another 70,000 jobs will be eliminated in the second half of the year in various sectors of industry. In the opinion of experts, the number of unemployed in the country (now at about 3 million) will increase by another 200,000.

The majority of Frenchmen do not approve of the activity of the government. According to a public-opinion poll published by the journal LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, only 26 percent of the French give a positive rating to the measures of the rulers (46 give a negative one). Some 72 percent are against the repeal of the tax on large estates, and 58 percent of the French oppose the repeal of price controls.

The process of "co-existence" between the socialist president and the prime minister is not proceeding without difficulties, notwithstanding the mutual striving to smooth out the rough spots and not to bring matters to a crisis. The newspaper LE MONDE feels that the prime minister has been able to intrude on issues of foreign and defense policy that have until recently remained the "province" of the president. Differences of opinion have sharpened between the leading rightist parties as well--the RPR (Rally for the Republic) and the

UDF (Union for French Democracy). Thus, the General Secretary of the Republican Party, part of the UDF, and Minister of Culture and Communication F. Leotard, after a number of the measures he proposed were declined by the prime minister, declared that it was impossible to achieve a "co-existence" even within the ruling majority. Former Prime Minister R. Barre and his allies are still temporizing (he intends to announce his candidacy in the presidential elections of 1988), and they came out against "co-existence" with a socialist president before the elections to the National Assembly and demanded his resignation in the event of a rightist victory.

Notwithstanding all of the problems connected with the realization of its program and the absence of palpable results in the economic sphere, the government intends to follow the path of "liberalization" further at an accelerated pace. "Our policies are the policies of a break with the past," French Prime Minister J. Chirac announced at a recent press conference. "Not one preceding government implemented such reforms in such a short period of time." Chirac's cabinet is promising to introduce a "new pricing system" in France by the end of this year. In other words, to create new conditions at the expense of the workers that are favorable to large capital and that serve the interests of the propertied and privileged classes.

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EASTERN EUROPE

BULGARIA: FINANCING SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in Russian No 7,  
Jul 86 pp 79-83

[Article by Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, Bulgarian People's Republic:  
"Finances and Acceleration of Scientific-Technical Progress in the Bulgarian  
People's Republic"]

[Text] At the February (1985) plenum of the BKP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee, the general secretary of the party's Central Committee, Todor Zhivkov, drew new theoretical and practical generalizations relative to the further building of a mature socialist society in the NRB [Bulgarian People's Republic] on the base of the scientific and technical revolution. He said: "The creation of a material-technical base which is adequate for mature socialism, the raising of the people's well-being, and ensuring the multi-faceted development of the personality and its highly effective realization are impossible without the scientific and technical revolution.... Under present conditions the accomplishment of the scientific and technical revolution signifies the building of a developed socialist society."

In the 8th Five-Year Plan, thanks to the state budget and the funds of enterprises a considerable part of the country's financial resources were used for the accomplishment of tasks noted in the plan for the introduction of scientific and technical achievements and the creation of the material and technical base of scientific and engineering-introductory organizations. In comparison with the preceding five-year plan, expenditures on scientific-research and engineering-introductory activity comprised 153.2 percent. Their proportion in the national income produced also increased.

Even in the first years of the 9th Five-Year Plan the Bulgarian economy will develop along the path of scientific-technical progress. The main directions and specific measures in this area have been determined by the decisions of the February plenum of the BKP's Central Committee. Special attention is being devoted to the accelerated introduction of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress in accordance with the plan for the social and economic development of the Bulgarian People's Republic for 1986. It is envisioned that 862 million leva will be allotted to finance scientific-research and engineering-introductory activity, which is 11 percent greater in comparison with 1985. This will comprise 3.1 percent of the planned national income as compared with 2.8 percent in 1985. A large part of these funds, approximately 82 percent, will be

expended on the accomplishment of the program and the tasks for scientific-technical progress at the national and branch levels.

The share of funds from the state budget in the financing of scientific-technical progress is increasing annually. Appropriated from it are basic scientific research and national and interbranch special-purpose programs for the accomplishment of big scientific-technical tasks and tasks of a long-range experimental nature which individual enterprises, administrative organizations, and branch ministries cannot finance independently.

A specific financial source for allocating a significant portion of the funds for these purposes is the "Technical Progress" fund being formed in the State Committee for Research and Technology. This fund is replenished annually from the funds of the state budget and is used for the realization of strategic directions of scientific and technical policy and raising the technical-economic, technological, and organizational level of production in accordance with Bulgarian and foreign scientific and technical achievements. In individual branches resources are expended for these purposes from the "Technical Progress and Investment" fund of the corresponding departments which is basically formed at the cost of the state budget.

In 1985 funds for financing scientific-research and engineering-introductory activity were directed basically to material production including, from them, 35 percent to machine building and electronics, 10 percent to agriculture and the food delicacy industry, 5.9 percent to the chemical industry, 4 percent to metallurgy and ore mining, 3.1 percent to light industry, and 2.6 percent to construction.

For 1986 it is planned to allot from the state budget 240 million leva for scientific and engineering-introductory activity, which is 10.6 percent more in comparison with 1985. Funds will be appropriated from this same source for the accomplishment of national programs in optical electronics and laser technology, electronics and microelectronics, for the development of GAPS [expansion unknown], biotechnology, the production of new materials, and so forth.

To realize the achievements of scientific and technical progress, important significance is also had by the financing of capital investments, the basic requirement of which consists of the high technical and technological level of new facilities and capacities being designed. This is why it can be said that capital investments, regardless of the sources of their financing--state budget, enterprises' and operational organizations' own funds, or bank credits--are one of the most powerful levers for scientific-technical progress. In accordance with the country's increasing economic potential the volume of capital investments in 1985 increased approximately 2.4-fold in comparison with 1970 including approximately 3.3-fold for science and scientific service.

Participation of monetary funds of operational organizations and enterprises is typical for the financing of scientific-technical progress in the Bulgarian People's Republic. From these funds, resources are allocated for the development and introduction of new, high-quality articles which are of interest for an individual subbranch or enterprise. The maintenance of bases for technical development and of scientific and engineering-introductory organizations is paid for

from the "Development and Technical Improvement" fund, at the expense of which all studies are financed and the "products" of scientific organizations which are subject to introduction into production are paid for.

A condition for the use of monetary funds of enterprises and operational organizations for the financing of scientific-technical progress is the requirement: by means of financial relations, to ensure the unity of interests of society, operational organizations, enterprises, brigades, and each member of society. Consequently, the system of monetary funds plays the role of economic lever for influence, and not only a financial source. Here, a special role belongs to the "Stimulation of Technical Progress", "Putting New Works into Production," and "Economic Risk" funds.

The purpose of the "Stimulation of Technical Progress" fund is the tying together of the immediate economic interests of the labor collectives and its members with the creation of highly efficient technologies, new types of raw materials and materials and high-quality products, and their rapid mastery in production. Deducted for the fund from profits are funds which are completely intended for the payment of rewards to direct participants in the introduction of technical innovations. The amount of such deductions, in accordance with a standard specially approved by the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, is determined depending on the realized additional profit as a result of the employment of the innovations. In addition, additional funds are deducted for the fund of which 10 percent goes for the motivation of management personnel of enterprises and 30 percent--of the labor collective or brigade which participated in the introduction. Thus, the interests of all participants in this process at a separate enterprise are combined. It is obvious that the higher the economic impact, the greater the possibility for direct material motivation.

Bonus payments are due for the introduction of new and improved technologies and articles and other scientific and technical developments, advanced experience, and measures which contribute to a reduction of material and labor expenditures per unit of production, the more complete loading of production capacities, and so forth. In this case the use of the assets of this fund permits raising directly the personal interest in making more active the creative capabilities of scientific and supervisory personnel, specialists, workers, and employees.

The collective interest of the enterprises in the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress is also stimulated to a certain degree through the "Putting New Works into Production" and "Economic Risk" funds. The assets which are allocated in them are accumulated in the operational organization and are intended for the compensation of profit, the amount of which is reduced at the initial stage of putting new technologies, articles, and so forth into production.

The role of monetary funds in the accomplishment of technical progress at the level of enterprise and operational organization consists of the fact that, on the one hand, they ensure the financing of scientific studies and results and their introduction and, on the other, necessary conditions are created for self-reimbursement and economic incentive. The goal of the employment of the principles of cost accounting at enterprises and in operational organizations and the system for the distribution of profit and the formation of funds for wages

created on their basis is the enterprise's output of high-quality and efficient production. This task is met by the timely replacement of production funds, the introduction of new technologies and materials, the contemporary organization of labor, and so forth.

In recent years, especially after the National Party Conference on Quality in 1984, a number of refinements and additions were introduced relative to the influence of financial levers on the accomplishment of tasks by the enterprises using economic assets. In this connection, we can note the offering, to the enterprises, of part of the tax on profits and part of the turnover tax when they accomplish tasks of technical progress and raise the quality of production. These revenues go primarily to the "Expansion and Technical Improvement" fund from which the operational organizations and enterprises finance technical progress programs. The rights of the operational organizations in the use of assets from the "Economic Risk" fund are also expanded for reimbursement of additional expenditures which arise in the production of new or improved output.

An increase in profit can be attained basically as a result of the improvement of the organization of production, a reduction in defective output and economy in the expenditure of materials, and the timely introduction of scientific and technical achievements. The first factor has a comparatively brief effect; therefore, the collectives of enterprises, being guided by economic interests, should place emphasis on the second. This is why primary significance is acquired by the problem of replacing fixed capital which, in the financial aspect, is connected with the amortization policy and control of the investment process.

For the creation of conditions for the rapid introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress it is permitted to increase, in the established procedure and on the proposal of ministries and operational organizations and by the competent state organ for individual branches and subbranches, the amortization norms up to 50 percent depending on their profitability and the necessity for technical reequipping.

To accelerate the timely replacement of fixed production capital, the enterprises have been granted the right to accomplish modernization, reconstruction, and the introduction of contemporary equipment and technology from the funds for capital repair. They may also use without restrictions their own and bank funds for the modernization, reconstruction, and replacement of fixed production capital which increases efficiency and improves the quality of production and for the acquisition of highly productive equipment--flexible automated production lines, robotized modules, microprocessor systems, and electronic computer equipment.

Under such conditions each enterprise which realizes sufficient profit, a portion of which goes to cover its obligations for the state budget, the payment of interest for credits for working capital, and other mandatory payments, may direct the remnants of the assets to the "Expansion and Technological Improvement" fund. At their expense or from bank credit the enterprise can finance the timely putting into production of the new highly productive fixed capital which it needs. Enterprises which, for objective reasons, cannot be provided with internal assets or credits for the indicated purposes may obtain financial assistance from the "Technical Progress and Investment" fund of the corresponding department or from the state budget.

The financial levers of the operating economic mechanism, directed toward the stimulation and acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the Bulgarian People's Republic, further a growth of economic interest, at the enterprises and in operational organizations, in the introduction of scientific and technical achievements. It is necessary to note, however, that they still do not completely correspond to the new views and approaches to the development and conduct of the Bulgarian People's Republic's scientific-technical policy which was approved at the February (1985) plenum of the BKP Central Committee. In the report of the general secretary of the BKP Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the significance of the planned basis in the control of scientific-technical progress is stressed as is the significance of the programmed organization of science, a selective strategy when accomplishing the scientific-technical revolution, and the type classification of contemporary technology. Also stressed was the closer tying together of financial resources and the final results from the accomplishment of the research cycle--the introduction and the subordination of the country's financial and currency balances to the requirements of contemporary scientific and technical progress.

All this envisions, under conditions of the organic unity of the financial system and the system for controlling the national economy, the even wider employment of financial levers at all levels (national, branch, operational organization, enterprise, and brigade) to assist in the creation of a material-technical base which is adequate for mature socialism. In this connection, the following are now necessary for improvement of the financial mechanism:

- to use more widely and purposefully on a planned program-integrated basis the budgetary incomes and expenditures for the creation of the material base of the national economy at a high scientific and technical level;
- to establish effectively sources for the appropriation of capital investments and to ensure the participation of the state budget in financing for stimulating the development of structure-determining production works, subbranches, and branches and the accomplishment of national, interbranch (in individual cases branch and territorial) integrated-special purpose programs for the introduction of advanced technologies and other scientific and technical achievements;
- to purposefully grant funds for the financing of integrated programs for the introduction of the achievements of science and technology depending on the tasks which have been posed with the balancing of expenditures and results of the scientific product which has been created and introduced;
- to devote special attention to the financing of integrated programs for the synchronization of interconnected technologies and capacities which ensure the multiplication of favorable results and the attainment of a high national-economic impact;
- to make wider use of the temporary system of tax benefits for individual enterprises, operational organizations, or entire branches in accordance with the requirements for a differentiated approach in the accomplishment of the scientific-technical revolution;

--on the basis of a selective approach, to reimburse from the state budget unforeseen expenditures for the putting into production of new products, new capacities, and contemporary technologies and the radical improvement of the organization of labor, and also additional expenditures connected with a rise in the quality, reliability, and other decisive parameters of articles to the level of the best world models or higher;

--to improve as a whole the entire system of distribution processes at enterprises and in operational organizations, including the formation of monetary funds and their use to stimulate acceleration of the introduction of the scientific-technical process.

Regardless of the source of financing--the state budget, the enterprise's own assets, and bank credit--the financial resources should be granted purposefully for each separate program for the introduction of advanced technologies and other scientific and technical achievements. The amount of the funds, including those for economic incentive, should be determined depending on the significance, effectiveness, and final result of the corresponding program.

Important scientific and technical programs which provide a favorable result for several branches or the entire national economy should be purposefully financed from the state budget. In connection with the extent of the plans, it is impossible for one or several organizations or even entire branches to bear such large expenditures. The accomplishment of scientific-technical tasks will permit raising the economic impact in a number of production branches and obtaining additional funds for the state budget. Thus, appropriations granted in the form of an advance will be recovered later on a large scale. This is why expenditures on financing scientific-technical progress should be considered as balanced and assisting the overall increase in the efficiency of public production and a rise in the people's standard of living.

The country's new five-year plan and budget envision active measures for encouraging scientific-technical progress on the main directions. Here, special attention has been devoted to supporting with the necessary material and financial resources the measures on collaboration envisioned by the Integrated Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Out to the Year 2000.

The increase in the role of finances in the struggle for the realization of the BKP's scientific and technical policy is predetermined by their essence as a category inherent in socialist public production. The continuous improvement of financial relations is a powerful means for the systematic direction of social and economic progress toward a further rise in the efficiency of public production and the building of a mature socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic at accelerated rates.

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EASTERN EUROPE

POLAND: DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 86 p 5

[Article by L. Toporkov, special correspondent: "A Lawsuit: An Experiment in the Development of Socialist Democracy in Poland"]

[Text] A lawsuit is something quite ordinary in court practice. Only this one has been brought against the Council of Ministers by...the People's Council. It sounds rather extraordinary, does it not? A lower organ of authority has entered upon a collision course with the government. To be more precise, it is seeking a revocation of one of the government's decisions.

Nevertheless, there is nothing special and certainly nothing sensational in this at the present time. Of course, there was a time, and not so long ago either, when something like this would have been impossible, simply unthinkable. But now the People's Council, in bringing this legal action, is not showing any disobedience or obstinacy. It is proceeding precisely in accordance with the law, with its spirit and letter.

So just what new has appeared in the practice of the people's authority in Poland during the last few years? There has been an expansion of the rights and independence of the People's Councils at all levels, the election system has been improved, the legislative and -- what is very important -- the monitoring activity of the Polish parliament, the Sejm and its commissions, have now become more active and multi-faceted. Broad use is being made of public consultations.

Finally, at the beginning of this year by way of carrying out the directives of the Ninth PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Congress, and the subsequent decisions of the PPR [Polish People's Republic] Sejm, a Constitutional Tribunal was formed. Since the latter is a new and special organ which is not dependent on anyone, it is called upon to render its own objective opinions as to whether certain decrees, dispositions, circulars, and decisions are in accord with the Constitution--the fundamental law of this country. The place of origin of the legal acts in question is not important for this tribunal. The first juridical instance may be the highest level of the state hierarchy--nothing can trouble the tribunal, which is guided in its activity solely by the criterion of socialist legality. It has not assumed the task of determining what motivated the authors of all manner of directives, whether their intentions were good from the viewpoint of the needs of the current moment, precedents, departmental

interests, or the most commonplace, arbitrary willfulness. It merely provides a principled evaluation of these directives.

The staff of the Constitutional Tribunal includes this country's prominent jurists--12 judges in all. It begins its court procedure either on its own initiative or upon the solicitation regarding certain laws on the part of state and public institutions, including, for example, the province-level People's Councils. The case at hand was designated as "The People's Council versus the Council of Ministers" because it was the People's Council of Wroclaw Province which was appealing to the Tribunal a decision by the government.

This was the first case that the Constitutional Tribunal heard in its still extremely brief history. It was given the number 1/86.

The essence of the case is as follows. At a certain time, based on a government decree, many tens of thousands of citizens purchased apartments from the state. Thus, these apartments became their own property. In Wroclaw alone almost 7,000 apartments were sold. In September of last year the republic's Council of Ministers adopted a decision to increase the payments on these apartments--the same ones which people had acquired many years ago. This people considered to be a violation of the existing legislation, and it evoked an avalanche of complaints. The general tone of items appearing in the press was likewise critical. The Presidium of the provincial People's Council in Wroclaw took upon itself the initiative of filing a lawsuit with the Constitutional Tribunal.

And so here we were in a courtroom in the building which houses the PPR Sejm on Wejska Street. It was filled to overflowing: the interest in this court session was enormous. As has already been stated, it was the first of its kind in the practice of the socialist people's authority in Poland. Assembled here were representatives from the broadest spectrum of public opinion. There were many journalists, and a television studio was set up in order to provide coverage of this far-from-ordinary event. And although long hours were devoted to the oral arguments which, on the surface, were hardly of burning interest, the results of this trial excited those who were living in the apartments purchased from the state as well as those who had no relationship to the case. In other words, all citizens. Because it was important for them to know and believe in the following: in the socialist state, in a Constitution which relies on its laws to serve human beings, laws directed at protecting human interests, and nobody is free to ignore them in any form. It is impossible to have official decisions based on subjectivism, arbitrary rule, and a capricious treatment of the state laws.

During the course of the trial Polish newspapers wrote that it was difficult to over-value the importance of introducing such an institution as the Constitutional Tribunal into our state system. What is important is not just the fact that there is a possibility to protect oneself against actions which contradict the Constitution and which frequently array themselves in formal legal garb. What is important is that now any state organs or institutions which are preparing normative acts must, whether they want to or not, give careful thought before adopting them as to whether the intended act, which is supposed to regulate public relations in this or that field, is in accordance with the fundamental law, i.e., the Constitution. Citizens of a socialist society must

assured of the stability of its constitutional norms and their firm guarantees. A law is authoritative and respected when it is constant and does not look back, when it is impossible to manipulate it with impunity.

At one time, the journalists here note, there were firm views that there was no necessity for such institutions exercising monitoring controls over the observance of constitutional norms. Such a viewpoint was based on an idealistic perception of the principles of a socialist state, which, they said, operated automatically, on its, so to speak, conflict-less nature, its natural internal solidarity and harmony. From ideals to actual practice, as it is often not hard to be convinced, the distance is quite considerable. In true reality the following elements are still alive: a bureaucratic approach and narrow group interests, along with violations of socialist law and order, such acts often being based on the subjective factor. And so the need for an institution concerned with guaranteeing the unwavering adherence to the fundamental law was dictated by the needs of life itself.

But let's return to the trial. Defending the government's side were two deputy ministers, who argued for the position of the Council of Ministers. Speaking for the People's Council were its plenipotentiary representative and the republic's deputy prosecutor general. The fact of the matter is that long before the adoption of the decision on raising the apartment payments, a move which so aroused the citizens, the procurator's office had officially warned of what the consequences would be of promulgating it, of what an outcry it would cause in public opinion.

The tribunal assembled twice for its sessions. It listened to the arguments of the parties concerned as well as those of experts and specialists. The representative of the province-level People's Council stated the following: "The nature of civil-law relations is such that the government side cannot itself alter an existing agreement, inasmuch as this violates the equal rights of the sides concerned." The deputy prosecutor general, J. Szewczyk drew the court's attention to the disturbance of public opinion caused by such examples of instability in the legal procedure. The representatives of the government defended their position by referring to the practice of concluding various types of legal contracts. Then there was a month's recess in the trial. It was needed do that the government side could answer in written form a number of specific questions connected with its interpretation of the decision which had been taken.

Finally, the concluding session of the tribunal took place under the presiding judge, K. Dzialoch. He delivered the following verdict: the government's decision contradicted Article 67 of the Constitution and the corresponding law passed by the Sejm. The government side was given three months to eliminate this contradiction, i.e., to change its own decision in favor of the other side. Of course, the Council of Ministers can appeal to the tribunal to reconsider its verdict. But in order to do this, substantial arguments would have to be found.

And so the first case in the activity of the Constitutional Tribunal has been tried and placed into the treasury of the experience of socialist democracy. Who won this case? Who lost? In our opinion, a correct remark was made by a well-known Polish journalist, who, by the way, lives in an apartment purchased

from the state, that it was hardly right to pose this question at all. The winners turned out to be just procedures, the law, truth, i. e., those things which everyone is interested in. Here is the value of the main lesson to be learned from the case of "The People's Council vs. the Council of Ministers": there has been a strengthening in public opinion of the awareness of the firmness of the new democratic institutions standing guard over the inviolability of the constitutional principles, which are operating effectively and which have been created not for the sake of form alone, not for merely ornamenting the state facade.

Were there doubts in this case--both before and after it was tried--as to whether this matter might, perhaps, inflict a loss of authority on the government?

"Yes, there were," replied the renowned Polish jurist, Z. Czeszejko-Sochacki, "that is precisely what the skeptics were saying. Although, incidentally, they themselves were not offering any specific proposals with regard to a monitoring mechanism which would exclude mistakes. The majority think otherwise: that there cannot be any losers in such cases as this. And what has won is the cause of strengthening the legal procedure, which, by the way, is what the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress call for. It is good that public activity is growing in defending a right which is founded in our law. The next few lawsuits have already been filed in the Constitutional Tribunal."

The tribunal's activity has merited high marks in public opinion and in the press. In a place where the instrument of publicity and authoritative control of emotions recede to the background, conflicts are cleared up, and there is an increase in the responsibility of those who have been granted the powers to adopt decisions affecting the interests of broad strata of the population. The system of the people's power continues to be improved and to store up valuable experience.

2384  
CSO: 1807/03

EASTERN EUROPE

EXAMINATION OF ROMANIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1981-1985

Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in Russian No 7,  
Jul 86 pp 36-42

[Article by Nicolae Ionescu, chief of Central Statistical Administration,  
Romanian Socialist Republic: "The Socio-Economic Development of the Romanian  
Socialist Republic in the Years 1981-85"]

[Text] The Political Executive Committee of the RKP [Romanian Communist Party]  
Central Committee, at a session on 6 February 1986, examined and approved a  
report on the results of accomplishment of the unified national plan for the  
socio-economic development of the Romanian Socialist Republic for 1985 and for  
the entire five-year plan for the years 1981-1985. It was noted that a num-  
ber of significant successes had been achieved in the motherland's economic and  
social development. On this basis the development of the country's productive  
forces, the strengthening of the achievements in creating a new system, and the  
raising of the material and spiritual standard of living of the entire people  
were ensured.

In analyzing the results, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out that "all these  
achievements are, unquestionably, the most convincing expression of the might of  
the economy, the superiority of our socialist system, and the correctness of the  
policy of the party which applies creatively the generally acknowledged truths  
and principles of scientific socialism and dialectical and historical material-  
ism to the actual conditions of our country...."

By the results of accomplishment of the plan in the recently completed five-year  
plan our people proved once again that they are fully capable of overcoming any  
difficulties and, under the leadership of the party, ensuring Romania's advance-  
ment along the path of progress, well-being, and civilization.

Despite some difficulties caused by the economic crisis and the situation in the  
world economy and also individual shortcomings in a number of activity sectors,  
in general in 1981-1985 many relatively good results have been attained, which  
created conditions for the successful accomplishment of the socio-economic tasks  
envisioned for 1986 and the entire present five-year plan and the transition of  
our country to a new, higher level of socialist development.

Industry--the basic factor in accelerating the growth of the entire national  
economy--continued to develop dynamically in the 7th Five-Year Plan. Agricul-  
ture--the economy's second basic branch--made an increased contribution to the

satisfaction of the population's consumer demands, to the supplying of industry with raw materials, and to the satisfaction of other needs.

The preceding five-year plan marked the transition to the intensive development of the national economy and the creation of a higher technical and quality level which permitted Romania to participate more actively in the international division of labor. The basic achievement was the annual active trade balance which significantly reduced foreign indebtedness. Thanks to the growth in material production and its efficiency, in 1985 the national income increased 24.1 percent in comparison with 1980 and, thus, the necessary resources were obtained for the national socio-economic development as well as for a rise in the population's standard of living.

Extremely important significance for the economic development of Romania was had by its decisive advance along the path of the new scientific and technical revolution and the organization of social and economic life on the basis of latest achievements of science and technology and human knowledge in general.

In accordance with the provisions of the Program of Scientific Studies, Technological Development, and the Introduction of Technical Progress which was approved by the 12th Congress and declared urgent by the party's National Conference in 1982, activity in this field was oriented in the five-year plan which was completed primarily on the expansion and strengthening of our own raw materials and energy base, the modernization of agriculture, the assertion of such intensive and quality development factors as raising the productivity of labor and the technical and quality level of articles, a reduction in material expenditures and the cost price of products, and a comprehensive increase in efficiency.

As a result of national scientific studies and planning projects in 1981-1985 16,000 new and modernized machines, equipment, instruments, and units with high parameters, more than 2,900 materials, and more than 2,000 items of consumer goods were created and put into production. Thus, the share of articles which were new and modernized during the five-year plan comprised 47 percent in 1985 in the structure of commodity production of the republic industry's processing branches. The employment of about 6,200 new and modernized technologies and mechanization and automation systems, primarily in chemistry, metallurgy, the production of heavy equipment, machine building, the electrical engineering and electronics and mining branches, the construction materials industry, and light industry made an important contribution to the more complete development of raw materials, a reduction in material and energy expenditures, classification by type, norm setting, standardization, and raising the technical and quality level of articles, and to raising economic efficiency in all branches.

A special role in the modernization of the national economy and the more complete use of material resources was allotted to the accomplishment of tasks envisioned by special programs for the development of such leading branches as, first of all, the aviation industry, the chemistry of polymers and fine synthesis, the creation of new materials for the electrical engineering, electronics, and microelectronics industry, the integrated development of mineral resources with a low content of useful matter, expansion of the employment of new and secondary energy resources, and so forth. The major achievements of the last five-year plan also include the accomplishment of many tasks which furthered a reduction

in the importing and consumption of raw materials, fuel, and energy and an increase in the degree of use of each ton of metal subjected to machining. All this, together with the successes in the accomplishment of programs for the automation and electronification of the production processes, assisted the situation where due to technical progress alone the productivity of labor increased by approximately 52 percent in 1981-1985.

A significant contribution was made by scientific studies to the modernization of agriculture, primarily to the increase in production potential and the better use of land resources, the breeding of new high-quality varieties and hybrids of grain and technical crops, vegetables, and fruits, and the creation of new livestock breeds having increased productivity. Special attention was also devoted to promising basic research in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and technical sciences in light of the latest trends of the scientific and technical revolution.

The successful development of industry in the preceding five-year plan--a factor which made more active all branches and sectors of activity--in decisive measure furthered a situation where today Romania is included in the ranks of countries with a contemporary competitive industry which is able to solve the most difficult technical problems in all sectors, including the production of electronic equipment, nuclear and electric power equipment, the aviation industry, and other fields which are especially important for the national economy. In this period, the production potential of industry increased as a result of putting new facilities into operation and the modernization and reequipping of existing capacities, which increased the contribution of intensive factors to the development of the branch.

In 1985 commodity production was produced worth 1221.1 billion leus, which was 21.6 percent greater than in 1980--industry strengthened its position even more as the leading branch of the economy. Its share in the creation of national income was increased from 58.6 percent to more than 60 percent. The scale of industry's contemporary production potential is shown by the fact that the production manufactured in 1985 equals all its production for the years 1950-1964.

Improvement in the structure and quality of production is reflected in the fact that its greatest growth during the five-year plan was noted in the machine building and metal working industry (31 percent) and the chemical industry (20.5 percent). The production of the exceptionally leading branches--in essence the carriers of technical progress--such as the production of electronic means of automation, computer equipment for the control of industrial processes, electronic components, articles for precision mechanics, and standard-unit-type and special-purpose machines increased 1.5-2-fold in 1981-1985. Machine building can now solve the most difficult technical problems, providing more than 90 percent of the machines and units necessary for the national economy, in so doing making an important contribution to the development of exports.

In the chemical industry the production of covers increased by 37.2 percent, of artificial and synthetic fibers and threads--by 25 percent, and of medicines--by 35.6 percent. Important qualitative changes occurred in the branch which found reflection in the development of fine and low-tonnage chemistry, special materials for electronics, new types of acrylic copolymers and auxiliary

substances for the textile and leather industries, new synthetic therapeutic preparations, dyes, lacquers, and paints, and insecticides for agriculture. The petrochemical industry, whose share in the total volume of chemistry production increased significantly, continued to develop dynamically.

With the contemporary international competition, where the problem of raw materials and energy resources is becoming more and more acute, the Romanian economy required decisive orientation on the expansion of geological prospecting, the rapid growth of the mining industry, the more complete utilization of national deposits of mineral resources including those with a low level of useful matter, and a significant change in the energy balance in favor of solid fuel and, first of all, of coal. In connection with this, in accordance with special programs approved by the party and worked out on the initiative of and under the direct leadership of the party's general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, concerning the more accelerated development of the energy and raw material base, in the preceding five-year plan geological-prospecting work was intensified and mines and wells were put into operation, which provided the opportunity to attract new mineral resources to economic turnover. The greatest increase was observed in the mining of coal--from 35.2 million tons in 1980 to 46.6 million tons in 1985, which comprised 17.2 percent of all primary energy resources. In the electric- and thermal-power industry, as a result of putting new electric power plants into operation and an increase in the capacity of existing plants their installed capacity at the end of 1985 reached almost 20,000 MW, approximately 22 percent more than five years ago.

The metallurgy industry, whose output increased by 11.1 percent during the five-year plan, produced almost 14 million tons of steel in 1985. Its per capita production is 607 kilograms, which permits including Romania among the states with vigorous metallurgy.

A significant growth in production was also noted in the last five-year plan in other branches of industry. Special attention was devoted to the development of Romanian raw materials, the expansion and diversification of the variety of products, and an increase in the quality of articles to satisfy the population's consumer demands.

The achievements in industry in 1981-1985 again confirmed the correctness of our party's policy to continue on a higher level the socialist industrialization of the country with consideration of the significance of this branch in the creation and strengthening of a comprehensively developed socialist society.

In agriculture in the last five-year plan, a new agrarian revolution was accomplished and special programs were realized which were directed at the growth in the products of plant growing and animal husbandry, the development and modernization of the material and technical base, and the introduction of new technologies.

The material basis of this broad-scale and integrated process is the allocation of big capital investments to agriculture. Their volume in 1981-1985 was 32.4 percent greater than in 1976-1980. As a result, the material and technical base of agriculture was strengthened and replaced, the fleet of agricultural tractors increased by 86,400, and that of grain combines--by 26,700. At the end

of 1985 they numbered respectively 184,000 and 65,000... Agriculture also received many other improved agricultural machines and equipment. In accordance with the preliminary plans of the National Program for Ensuring Reliable and Steady Production of Agricultural Produce meliorative work was accomplished in an accelerated manner: thus, in 1981-85 it was conducted on 706,700 hectares. At the end of the five-year plan the irrigated area reached almost three million hectares.

In this same period, 519,900 hectares were reclaimed and measures against soil erosion were accomplished on 611,200 hectares. Placed on the country's fields were 7,062,200 tons of chemical fertilizer (100 percent active ingredient), approximately 700,000 tons more than in the preceding five-year plan. In addition, agriculture received chemical products to combat agricultural pests.

Despite the unfavorable climate conditions in individual years, on the whole the gross production of agriculture for 1981-1985 exceeded by 10.2 percent this indicator for 1976-1980. In the last two years the gross yield of grain was more than 1,000 kilograms per capita of the population, which means the accomplishment of one of the tasks posed by the party program at the contemporary stage. In 1985 on the average, the yield exceeded the 1980 level for corn and sorghum by 1,531 kilograms, rice by 1,686 kilograms, beans--by 382, late potatoes--by 9,715, tomatoes--by 9,167, onions--by 4,595, and root crops--by 5,238 kilograms. In the last five years a large number of state agricultural enterprises and co-operatives received record harvests--more than 8,000 kilograms of wheat and barley per hectare and 15,000-20,000 kilograms of corn in the husks from one hectare. These successes testify to the great possibilities of our socialist agriculture to provide a high level of production regardless of weather conditions, primarily thanks to the high degree of its technical equipping.

The growth in the livestock population and an increase in the mean output of animal production per hectare provided higher results of the branch in 1981-1985 in comparison with 1976-1980.

Due to an increase in the production of plant growing and animal husbandry the volume of deliveries of socialist agricultural enterprises and private peasant plots to the state fund increased by 33.2 percent in comparison with 1980 for grain, 42.9 percent for vegetables, by 46.2 percent for fresh fruit, and by 40.5 percent for eggs.

Transportation and communication--important branches of the national economy--continued to develop and modernize through equipping with more powerful means and with a reduction in energy expenditures in accordance with the tasks envisioned by special programs.

The development and modernization of the material and technical base of all social-economic life and of all sectors of activity required a considerable volume of capital investments. In the last five-year plan they were 6.6 percent greater than in the preceding one and increased 1.8-fold in comparison with 1971-1975. Eighty-five percent of the total volume of capital investments were directed for the accomplishment of planned tasks in the sector of material production (respectively 49.1 percent for industry and 16 percent for agriculture). Here primary attention was directed toward the expansion of our own raw materials and power base and the development, at high rates, of the sectors of

advanced technology and modernization of the branches of the national economy. Also considered was the efficient placement of productive forces on the entire territory of the country, the uniform development of all zones, and the systemization and modernization of the network of cities.

In this period grandiose objects of national significance were constructed such as the Danube-Black Sea Canal and new sections of the Bucharest subway--monumental structures of engineering art, and proof of the tremendous creative abilities of the Romanian people--the Iron Gate II hydroelectric station and chemical combines in Midia and Giurgiu. An integrated hydraulic power structure and new GES' [hydroelectric station] are being erected on the Danube and internal rivers, TES' [thermal electric power station] are being built near the main coal basins of the country, and the first AES [nuclear power station] and new TES' are being built. Work has also been begun on the construction of the Poarta - Alba - Nevodari Canal, a new administrative center of the capital, and on the integrated construction and operation of Dimbovita.

The consistent policy of the Romanian Communist Party in the efficient location of productive forces on the country's territory is reflected in the priority direction of capital investments to individual districts which were poorly developed in the past. As a result, the mean annual rate of growth of fixed capital in them in 1981-1985 increased from 9 to 14 percent, outstripping the average indicator for the country which equals approximately 8 percent.

The successes in the development of all branches of the national economy and in the modernization of production and technologies made possible and necessary Romania's more active participation in world economic turnover. The volume of foreign trade increased and its diversification intensified. In 1985, the commodity turnover with other countries was 340.7 billion leu. In comparison with 1976-1980, during 1981-1985 its increase reached 25.6 percent and export--46.5 percent, which shows its higher dynamics. The increase in the quality of Romanian articles and their technical level and the more complete use of raw materials, energy, and the labor force are shown by the increase in the share of machines, equipment, and transport means, chemical products, and commercial consumer goods in the export structure. In 1985 this share comprised 61 percent compared to 51 percent in 1980. Just as formerly, placed in the foreground were economic and cooperative ties with socialist countries, first of all with CEMA members, the proportion of which in the total volume of Romania's foreign trade equalled approximately 57 percent. Simultaneously with this, economic and scientific and technical relations developed with the developing states and developed capitalist countries on principles of equality, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs, and observance of the sovereignty and independence of each country.

At the 3d congress of the management councils of socialist agricultural enterprises, of the entire peasantry, and councils of workers of the food industry, forestry, and water resources the general secretary of the party and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed that Romania is working with all resolve in the direction of intensification of international economic relations with all countries of the world. It attaches great significance to the accomplishment of the Long-Term Special-Purpose Programs adopted by the CEMA member socialist countries and of the Integrated Program for Scientific and

Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Out to the Year 2000 for the more powerful development of each fraternal country and the entire socialist commonwealth.

The economic effectiveness in all sectors of material production increased in 1981-1985. The realization of the preliminary plans of the program for accelerating the growth in labor productivity and improving its organization and norm setting which was adopted by the party led to an increase in labor productivity in the republic's industry. This indicator, calculated on the basis of commodity production, increased by 15.4 percent, and on the basis of net output--by 21.5 percent. It should be noted that almost the entire growth in industrial output was obtained in the last five-year plan through an increase in labor productivity (in comparison with approximately 75 percent in the preceding five-year plan), which was the result of the introduction of technical progress, the employment of mechanization and automation on a wider scale, and an increase in the qualifications of the worker personnel. A reduction in the specific consumption of raw material, materials, fuel, and energy, the putting of secondary materials to use, and the recuperation and restoration of parts and assemblies led to a reduction in total outlays per 1,000 leus of commodity production in the republic's industry of 3.1 percent in 1985 in comparison with 1980, and of material expenditures--by 4.9 percent, thanks to which approximately 21.9 billion leus were saved during the five-year plan.

On the basis of a growth in productive forces, national income, and socialist property the party program in raising the material and spiritual standard of living of the people and its quality was realized.

The active demographic policy which was consistently conducted by our party and the state furthered an increase in the country's population in 1981-1985 by approximately 500,000 people. At the end of 1985 it was 22.8 million people. The successes of the national economy caused a systematic increase in the number of working places: the numerical strength of the working personnel increased from 7,340,000 in 1980 to 7,661,000 in 1985.

Thanks to the successful development and modernization of material production and the growth in economic effectiveness in all spheres of activity, in 1985 the national income equalled 750.8 billion leus which is 24.1 percent greater than in 1980. Thus, resources were obtained for a further rise in the productivity of labor as well as for an increase in the incomes of the population and an improvement in living conditions as well as of labor and rest. Thus, the wage fund for working personnel increased by 33 percent in 1985 in comparison with 1980, basically through an increase in the nominal wage in the five-year plan, as a result of which its mean monthly amount increased from 2,238 leus in 1980 to almost 3,000 leus at the end of 1985.

The increase in the mean nominal wage and the systematic evolution of the index of prices and rates for services led to an increase in the purchasing power of the worker personnel, which naturally was reflected in a rise in the real wage by approximately eight percent at the end of 1985 in comparison with 1980. Thus, the task assigned in this sphere by the party's national conference in 1982 has been accomplished. The real income of the peasants from labor in agricultural production cooperatives and on private plots also increased: by more than 12 percent per worker during the last five years.

Along with a growth in the direct income from labor, an important role in the rise of the population's material and spiritual standard of living was played by income through public consumption funds. In 1985, pensions were paid from them which were 12.8 billion leus more than in 1980. The average amount of the old-age pension and pension for long service from state social security at the end of 1985 equalled 1,798 leus as opposed to 1,335 leus in 1980. State funds for children's grants, which cover 4.8 million, last year comprised about 14 billion leus in comparison with 10.7 billion leus in 1980.

Funds allotted from the state budget for financing social and cultural measures were directed toward the development and improvement of education of all stages, the expansion and diversification of activity in the area of culture and art, and for public health and improving the organization of public services and amenities of the cities and villages. Concern for the education of the younger generation and the molding of the new man with a high political, educational, and cultural level is reflected in the fact that now a quarter of the country's population is covered by a broad network of educational institutions of all stages. Medical service was systematically improved, which was assisted by the putting into operation of new hospitals, dispensary-polyclinics, and medicine dispensaries, and by an increase in the number of sanitation and medical personnel.

In the last five-year plan the population received 706,700 new apartments, which satisfied in a general way those having a need. Measures were also adopted for the development and modernization of the material and technical base for tourism, rest, and balneotherapy.

Having noted the considerable achievements in the social and economic development as a whole during 1981-1985 and in the accomplishment of the party program, the general secretary of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed at a session of the Political Executive Committee of the RKP's Central Committee that they could be much better since we cannot be completely satisfied with the comparison with the capabilities which we have and with what we should have accomplished--and could have accomplished--especially with the results obtained in 1985.

In the report on the results of accomplishing the plan in the last five-year plan, it was stated that the preliminary plans were not accomplished for the mining of individual types of basic raw materials, primarily in connection with the inadequate activity of some mining combines, industrial associations, and drilling and mining trusts. Serious underaccomplishments of the plan were noted in the production of electric power on a coal base, primarily as a result of the late start-up of a number of power units, the unsatisfactory repair and servicing of power equipment, and the uneven delivery of coal, in which regard low-grade, which caused difficulties in supplying the national economy with electric and thermal energy. In agriculture, the rates of growth of production were adversely affected also by shortcomings which existed at individual agricultural enterprises which did not ensure the employment of established technologies and the timely accomplishment of work at the proper quality level, the use of the production potential of all land resources, and the collection, transportation, warehousing, and storage of the output without losses. In the last five years a number of shortcomings have appeared in transportation, primarily pertaining to

the use of means which are available, which did not ensure timeliness of delivery during shipments. Because of shortcomings and difficulties in the working out, mastery, production, and delivery of technological equipment on time as well in the organization of construction projects, the investment plan for the entire five-year plan proved to be underaccomplished and the times for putting some facilities into operation were exceeded. A number of shortcomings appeared in foreign trade in the accomplishment of programs for raising the technical level and quality and for the more complete use of raw materials and materials for export production.

In turning attention to the shortcomings connected with the organization of economic activity, the party's general secretary called upon all responsible personnel of economy sectors--enterprises, associations, trusts, ministries--and all collectives of workers headed by communists and party organs and organizations to work with all seriousness to eliminate negative phenomena in the economy to improve management activity and the specific solution of problems in the social and economic development of our motherland in accordance with the requirements posed by the 13th Congress and the party program for the creation of a comprehensively developed socialist society.

The achievements in 1981-1985 are a firm foundation for the exemplary accomplishment of the planned tasks assigned for the first year of the 8th Five-Year Plan and the preliminary plans envisioned by the 13th Party Congress for the years 1986-1990 for the decisive continuation of the policy for building a comprehensively developed socialist society and the advance of Romania toward communism and for raising our socialist motherland to new stages of progress and civilization and its transition to a new stage which corresponds to an average-developed socialist country.

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

SOVIET, CHINESE EXPERTS DISCUSS PATENT RIGHTS

OW271343 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to China 0400 GMT 25 Oct 86

[Excerpts] A team of experts on the question of Chinese patent rights led by Gao Yundai, vice manager of the China Patent Rights Corporation, is currently visiting the Soviet Union. According to the schedule, the Chinese comrades attended provisional discussion meeting of Soviet and Chinese experts on the question of patent rights. Our station reporter asked Filipov, one of the organizers of this discussion meeting and vice manager of the Soviet Patent Rights Corporation, to comment on the joint discussion meeting.

Filipov said: This discussion meeting was sponsored by the Soviet Patent Rights Import and Export Corporation. We attach great importance to this discussion meeting because of the development of Soviet-Chinese economic relations. The question of patent rights plays an important role in this regard. At the discussion meeting, experts of both countries mutually understood the two countries' work concerning patent rights. This of course was of great significance to the further development of Soviet-Chinese technological exchange and trade and economic relations.

(Wei Qixue), member of the Chinese delegation and deputy chief of the legal branch of the China Patent Rights Corporation, told our station reporter: Over the past few years, Chinese-Soviet economic and trade relations have developed rapidly. Commodity trade has also developed fast. To meet needs, trade mark and other agencies of the two countries' firms need mutual understanding to promote the development of Sino-Soviet economic and trade relations.

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CSO: 4005/123

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

IRAN'S RULING ELITE SAID TO BENEFIT FROM WAR WITH IRAQ

NC121346 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 11 Oct 86

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The UN Security Council has issued a resolution on the Iran-Iraq conflict, once again calling on both sides to immediately end the war and to withdraw their military forces behind internationally-recognized borders. But will the warring sides listen to this appeal by the UN Security Council? The Soviet public supports a solution of the conflict between Iran and Iraq not on the war arena, but at the negotiating table. The magazine FOREIGN MILITARY REVIEW [TAFSIR-E NEZAMI-YE KHAREJI], published in Moscow, analyzes the current situation and writes:

With the coming to power in Iran of the Shi'ite clergymen headed by Khomeyni, serious difficulties emerged in Iran-Iraq relations. The Iranian leaders prepared the thesis of Islamic rule and proclaimed the slogan advocating the export of the Islamic revolution to other Islamic countries and the unity of all Shi'ites. It immediately began to apply this thesis, and Iraq became one of the targets of this action. Practically from its inception, Khomeyni's regime provoked and encouraged the Iraqi Shi'ites' anti-government activities and granted them financial assistance, propaganda material, and arms, striving to start an Islamic revolution along the lines of its own.

World imperialism--in the shape of the United States and other major capitalist countries--definitely played a determining role in fomenting this war. In their efforts to punish Iran for the damages inflicted on the West during the revolution, they published fabrications about the Iranian Army's weakness and on the instability and aggressive intentions of the Khomeyni regime, thus actually further provoking the clashes between the two neighbors. When in April 1980 Iraq went to the UN Security Council and asked that Iran hand over the disputed islands of Abu Musa, Greater and Lesser Tumb in the Hormoz Strait, Ayatollah Khomeyni went on Iranian television and called on the Iraqi people to topple their government. He urged the Iraqi Armed Forces not to imitate the enemies of the Koran and of Islam and to join the people. It was under these conditions that the Iraqi military forces occupied the disputed areas which, in accordance with the latest agreement between Iran and Iraq, should have

been handed over to the latter. Following this, military operations started on a wide front--from Qasr-e Shirin in the north to Khorramshahr in the south.

Foreign observers believe that Iraq's military-political leaders, by holding on to parts of Iranian territory occupied by the army, intended to force Iran into returning all disputed areas, halting subversion, and preventing the export of the Islamic revolution to Arab countries. In early October 1980--6 years ago--Iraq announced that by recovering its legal territory, it had achieved its legitimate objectives, and proposed that the war be ended peacefully. But, the Khomeyni regime did not agree with this proposal.

On the contrary, as pointed out by foreign correspondents, from the very first weeks of the war it became obvious that the Iranian clerics used these military conflicts to the hilt in their own benefit and that they were escalating the war so that they could thus carry out their program to export the Islamic revolution to neighboring countries. According to these correspondents, the Iranian leaders saw the war as a gift from fate because it hid domestic problems from public view and allowed all segments of the population to gather round the clergymen to such an extent that their attention would be drawn away from the problems at home.

By sending all the former military forces and units to the fronts, the ruling clergymen rid themselves of a substantial number of opponents of the new regime. The introduction of various wartime restrictions provides favorable conditions for Iran's ruling class to crush leftist democratic organizations that had played fateful role in the victory of the anti-shah revolution. On the pretext of subduing opposition, the organs of repression were spectacularly strengthened. Through the active diffusion of ideology among the people, it became possible to create an atmosphere of chauvinism and false patriotism.

Foreign observers watching the incidents on the Iran-Iraq front agree on the outlook for the conflict, although their assessment is that the warring sides are almost equal in strength. Even though Iran has greater manpower resources than Iraq, this alone will not tip the balance in favor of Tehran. The foreign press points out that the protraction of this war depends directly on the position of the Iranian leaders. Meanwhile, the pressures and deprivations being inflicted by the meaningless war, the continuation of which can only serve the hegemonic objectives of specific circles, is bound to have an increasingly negative impact on the people. An anti-war spirit is emerging among a growing number of Iranians.

The facts show that the most aggressive forces in the United States and NATO see that it is in their interests for this pointless tragedy of military conflict to be prolonged as long as possible. In turn, the further weakening of the forces of Iran and Iraq will give imperialism new opportunities to strengthen its political-military positions in the region. This is why imperialism has employed all its resources to fan the flames of hatred and hostility between the warring sides, with the objective of exacerbating the situation in the Persian Gulf in the future.

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